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Memoir of the Life and Correspondence of John Lord ...

Teignmouth, Charles John Shore,
Baron, 1796-1885, Charles John Shore Teignmouth

MEMOIR

OF

THE LIFE AND CORRESPONDENCE

OF

JOHN LORD TEIGNMOUTH.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

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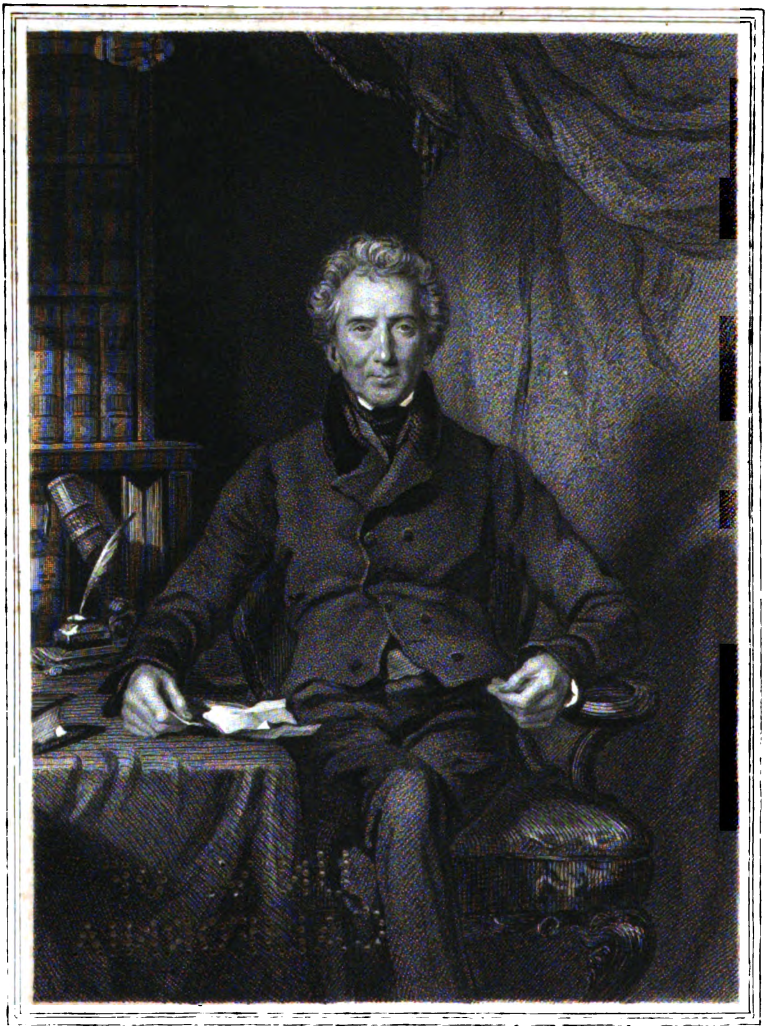
CALIFORNIA



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Engraved by W. Holl

JOHN LORD TEIGNMOUTH,

ÆT. 82.

Yours ever sincerely

Teignmouth.

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JOHN LORD C[illegible]

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LONDON:
HATCHARD AND SON,

[illegible]

Plymouth.

UNIV. OF
CALIFORNIA

MEMOIR
OF
THE LIFE
AND
CORRESPONDENCE
OF
JOHN LORD TEIGNMOUTH.

BY HIS SON,

LORD TEIGNMOUTH.

VOL. I.

LONDON:
HATCHARD AND SON.

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[illegible]RY MORSE STEPHENS

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INTRODUCTION.

The publication of a Memoir of the Life and Correspondence of the late Lord Teignmouth will not excite the surprise of those who appreciate alike the merit of his public conduct in the service of the East-India Company, or as President of the British and Foreign Bible Society, and the excellence of his private character.

The author, whilst satisfied that the subject-matter of such a work furnishes sufficient justification of its being undertaken, is bound to state the motives which have induced him to enter upon it, notwithstanding certain disadvantages which may possibly arise from his relationship to the individual to whom it refers. The value of Biography depends much on the author's interest in the history and character of its subject. Of Lord Teignmouth's contemporaries, who enjoyed the opportunities which friendship afforded of estimating his character, few survived him; and none to whom the task of doing justice to his memory, in a manner worthy of their own personal feelings or of the expectation of others, could have been proposed. Of the able writers of a younger generation, none were qualified for it by habitual intimate acquaintance.

The author felt that on himself devolved the duty of supplying the deficiency: and he has endeavoured, though imperfectly, to counteract the bias to which undue partiality might render him liable, by allowing the subject of his Memoir to be, as far as possible, his own Biographer. In the fulfilment of his task, he has happily found abundant materials, consisting of Lord Teignmouth's Papers (including copies of all his Letters written during the second and third periods of his residence in India), placed by his father at his unrestricted disposal, besides other documents gathered from different quarters, and the personal recollections of himself, of other members of his family, and of friends. And as Lord Teignmouth's Letters were written *currente calamo*, in a style wholly untinctured by affectation or the prospect of publication —for till the latter part of his life he had left directions for the destruction of all his Papers—they convey as faithful and undisguised a representation of his genuine character as could be imparted through such a medium.

The author embraces the opportunity of gratefully acknowledging the assistance he has received from the Authorities of the East-India House, of the Board of Controul, and of the British and Foreign Bible Society, in obtaining free access to the ample means of information respectively within their reach. He must express his particular obligations to the kindness of HENRY ST. GEORGE TUCKER, Esq. for the facilities afforded him in pursuing his Indian researches; and to his friend, SIR ARCHIBALD EDMONSTONE, for his valuable suggestions in the prosecution of the work.

UNIV. OF CALIFORNIA

LIFE
OF
LORD TEIGNMOUTH.

CHAPTER I.

BIRTH, PARENTAGE, EDUCATION—APPOINTMENT TO A WRITERSHIP IN THE EAST-INDIA COMPANY'S SERVICE—SAILS FOR INDIA.

Lord Teignmouth's ancestors were of Derbyshire. The Family of Shore, says Lyson, is of considerable antiquity in that county. Thomas Shore represented the borough of Derby in Parliament in the reigns of Richard II. and Henry IV., and Ralph Shore in that of Henry V.; and two of the same name are returned by the Commissioners, in the reign of Henry VI., as amongst the Gentry of the County of Derby.

Lord Teignmouth's immediate progenitor and namesake, John Shore, was of Snitterton, in the parish of Darley, near Matlock. The farm-houses and cottages of this hamlet are sprinkled over the sloping sides of Oker Hill, conspicuous from its elevation, and from the position of two weather-beaten trees on its summit, still known by the name of the Shore Trees*. John Shore purchased of the Sacheverells, in the commencement of the reign of Elizabeth, "the manor of Snitterton, and several premises and lands in Snitterton, Wensley, and Darley;" and probably resided at Snitterton Hall, a venerable and once moat-girt mansion, at the foot of Oker, now tenanted by a farmer. His possessions were inherited, and afterwards sold, by his only son John.

---

* These trees have been celebrated by Mr. Wordsworth, in the following beautiful sonnet. The poet's authority for the affecting incident, which forms its subject, was the information of a fellow-traveller in a stage-coach. It is traditionally, and probably more accurately, reported in the neighbourhood, that they were planted by one William Shore, to represent himself and his wife; and to signify that the surrounding lands, as far as they could see, belonged to their forefathers:—

> 'Tis said, that to the brow of yon fair hill
> Two Brothers clomb, and, turning face from face,
> Nor one look more exchanging, grief to still
> Or feed, each planted on that lofty place
> A chosen tree: then, eager to fulfil
> Their courses, like two new-born rivers, they
> In opposite directions urged their way
> Down from the far-seen mount. No blast might kill
> Or blight that fond memorial: the trees grew,
> And now entwine their arms: but ne'er again
> Embraced these Brothers upon earth's wide plain;
> Nor aught of mutual joy or sorrow knew,
> Until their spirits mingled in the sea
> That to itself takes all Eternity.

WORDSWORTH, *Son.* XLV.

Sir John Shore, eldest son of the latter, a physician of Derby, was knighted by Charles II. soon after the Restoration; and probably received from that monarch a more durable testimony to his loyalty—a miniature portrait of His Majesty, set in gold; which has been transmitted to his descendants, as the gift of Charles II. to one of their ancestors, in recognition of aid afforded him in effecting his escape. Sir John Shore's family and connections were Royalists. Sir John Harpur, brother, and Sir John Fitzherbert, former husband of his first wife, were two of the five gentlemen of Derbyshire who led the loyal forces of that county during the Civil Wars. The Shores are said to have lost their property in the Royal cause. Woolley's MSS. contain an account of Thomas Shore of Ashover, whose family is connected with that of Snitterton, and whose last male representative, a retired merchant, lately died at that place, having been fed by his wife in a cave in which he had taken refuge; whilst she, a very stout woman, armed with a short staff, opposed, on a bridge, a party of Cromwell's horse who were searching for him. The husband, stripped of the greater part of a good estate, took what was left, and lived at Snitterton; where, not long ago, the staff wielded by the heroine still hung from the roof of a cottage occupied by one of her descendants.

Sir J. Shore's second marriage with the daughter of Mr. John Chambers, a merchant of Derby, appears to have opened to his family their subsequent connection with India: for his wife's brother* being a merchant in London, his son John settled also there in a mercantile capacity, and became Ship's-husband or owner to the East-India Company; retaining, the only yet remaining link of the family with the county from which they sprung, a small estate near Burton-upon-Trent.

His three elder sons dying young—the eldest, John, in India—the fourth, Thomas, inherited his property. He enjoyed the lucrative situation of Supercargo to the East-India Company. He was twice married; first to a lady of respectable fortune, widow of John Edgell, Esq., and mother of Richard Wyatt, Esq., of Milton Place, in Surrey, whose name occurs frequently in the following pages; and secondly, to the daughter of Captain

---

* Thomas Chambers.—This gentleman had two daughters; the elder of whom, Hannah Sophia, was married to Brownlow, eighth Earl of Exeter, and inherited her father's house in Full Street, Derby. This mansion is mentioned by Horace Walpole, as Lord Exeter's house, and as having been burnt by the Rebels in 1745. It is however still standing; and is pointed out as that which the Pretender occupied, and where the Council sat which determined on his retreat. Monuments to the memory of John and Thomas Chambers, and also of Sir J. Shore, are erected in All-Saints' Church, Derby.

Shepherd, of the East-India Company's Naval Service. By his first marriage he had no issue; but by his second, two sons—John, the subject of this Memoir, and Thomas.

John, the elder, was born in London, on the 8th Oct. 1751, at a lodging in St. James's street, temporarily occupied by his parents: their ordinary residence being Melton Place, near Romford in Essex, where he passed his infancy. His earliest recollection was, being sent daily to a neighbouring school, mounted on one of the carriage-horses, in front of the coachman. In his seventh year he was removed to a seminary at Tottenham. In the next he lost his father; whose death resulted from a paralytic affection, occasioned by his having partaken, at the Isle of Ascension, whilst on his homeward voyage from China, of some turtle boiled in a copper vessel. His son never lost the impression produced on his infant mind by his father's pale and emaciated countenance, or forgot the only words he ever recollected to have heard uttered by him: — "Johnny, my dear, make way for me, for I am very feeble." Mr. Shore was much respected by his friends; and so affectionately beloved by his wife, that, though surviving him many years, she never effectually recovered from the shock of her bereavement. Of his character and habits little is now known. That he was fond of reading, may be inferred from the catalogue of his books; comprising a small but valuable collection of volumes, on Divinity and History, and on other subjects.

His widow was left with her two sons—John, and Thomas, who was five years younger than his brother—in comfortable circumstances; and in possession of an income enabling her to bestow on them the advantage of a liberal education. Her estimable character combined, in a remarkable degree, warmth of affection with soundness of judgment, under the regulating influence of religious principle. Of her religious opinions, her son would observe, that they were of the school which predominated in her day; dwelling principally on the morality of the Gospel, and little on the fundamental doctrine of the Atonement. Her manners have been described to me, by one who was acquainted with her, as elegant and polished. Of his mother's self-command under trying circumstances, her son would mention the following proof. She had discovered him, whilst a child, bestriding the roof of a high barn, unconscious of the danger of his situation. Fearing the effect on his mind of any indication of alarm on her part, she concealed her feelings, by conversing playfully with him; whilst, by her directions, a servant procured a ladder, and secured him. Her emotions, which she had controlled whilst doubtful of his safety, now overcame her, and she fell into a swoon.

John Shore's future course was settled soon after his father's death, by his acceptance of a Writership in the East-India Company's service, offered to him by an old friend of his family, named Pigou. At the school at which he had been placed—removed from Tottenham to Hertford—he had access to a good library; his master, the Rev. Mr. Harland, being of a literary turn; author of a tragedy, and some other published pieces. Of this privilege he eagerly availed himself; and often spoke of the ardour with which he rose at day-break to gratify his early and strong predilection for poetry, by the perusal of a quarto edition of Pope's Translation of Homer. Voyages and Travels afforded him peculiar delight, and inflamed his mind with the early and passionate desire of accompanying an Expedition of Discovery: till his dreams of hardy enterprise were exchanged for the prospect of more substantial but still uncertain advantage, which India opened to the youthful adventurer, at a period when the functions and the remuneration of the Company's servants were as yet imperfectly defined.

An incident occurred during his stay at Hertford which tended, as he was wont to state, to impress on his mind that earnest conviction of the superintendence of Providence; which, confirmed by some remarkable circumstances in his future life, it ever retained. He had repaired with a schoolfellow to a neighbouring stream, for the purpose of bathing. The two boys were on the point of plunging into a deep pool, having mistaken one bank for another beneath which the water was shallow, when they heard a voice questioning them loudly whether they could swim; and turning round, they perceived a stranger riding, who, on their replying in the negative, threatened them with a horse-whipping unless they quitted the spot.

Whilst his literary taste was cultivated by general reading, and his body strengthened by active exercises, the young schoolboy attained considerable proficiency in his allotted studies: and on his removal to Harrow, in his fifteenth year, he was placed on the fifth form; by which class the same books were read as by the sixth and highest. From his position in the school, he derived the full advantage of the instruction of the two eminent scholars under whose auspices it then flourished, Drs. Sumner and Parr. His diligence, and keen perception of the beauties of the classic authors, soon recommended him to the partiality of the former. He would indeed observe, that the refined sensitiveness of Dr. Sumner's taste produced one defect in his conduct, as master of a public school — a disposition to neglect boys in whom this faculty was found wanting. And he would allude, in proof of this, to Dr. Sumner, on an unlucky wight having aggrieved him, whilst reciting the opening line of an ode of Horace, by several false quantities, manifesting his disgust by never again allowing the boy to construe before him.

At Harrow, Shore read Virgil, Horace, Cicero, Homer, and Sophocles. His early predilection for Pope's Translation was encouraged by Dr. Sumner, who invariably quoted from it, when Homer was read, the passages corresponding to the original; and would frequently, when adverting to its alleged defects, challenge production of a better. Of religious instruction he unfortunately received none at Harrow; except on Saturday mornings, when his class perused the Greek Testament in Dr. Sumner's study, whose able comments on the text he listened to with both pleasure and profit.

His position in the school was between two boys destined like himself to eminence, and for some time associated in pursuits as in fame—Nathaniel Halhed, and Richard Brinsley Sheridan. He often described the character of these schoolfellows: observing of the former, that he possessed first-rate talents, and excelled any one he had ever known in the acuteness of his perceptions, giving promise at school of celebrity which, through indolence or excentricity, he never realised. His description of Sheridan's boyish habits corresponded with the representations familiar to every one. With Halhed, Shore renewed his intercourse, both in England and in India: but, except at Richmond, where Sheridan then resided, he never saw him but at school. For an active participation of the manly games for which Harrow has been ever celebrated, Shore was qualified, by a sinewy but spare frame.

He left Harrow when on the point of succeeding to the Captaincy of the School, a distinction subsequently obtained by his brother; and renounced, with unavailing regret, the prospect of classical proficiency, which his abilities and diligence could not have failed to realise, under Dr. Sumner's instructions.

His friendship with his distinguished master was cemented by a correspondence which continued till the death of the latter; and it is to be regretted that no traces of it have been found.

The Directors of the East-India Company required that their Civil Servants, previously to entering on their duties, should be versed in Bookkeeping and Merchants' Accounts. As no seminary was especially provided for the purpose, Shore was placed, in his seventeenth year, at an academy at Hoxton, where he passed nine months in acquiring knowledge for which a fortnight would have sufficed; and, unfortunately, his master could afford him no assistance in the prosecution of his classical studies. His attention was, however, directed to subjects of practical utility, especially Arithmetic, for which he ever entertained a strong predilection. He derived much advantage from his knowledge of this science, and became thoroughly familiarized with it by usually taking old Cockins as the companion of his voyages and journeys. He also studied successfully the French and Portuguese languages, with a view to readier communication with the Foreign Settlements in India. In the latter language he read with delight the Lusiad of Camoens, and ever reverted with pleasure to Mickle's Translation of that celebrated poem.

By a singular coincidence, the obscure seminary of Hoxton contained at this time another individual, besides himself, destined to fill the high office of Governor-General of India—Lord Rawdon, afterwards Marquis of Hastings. As this young nobleman then resided with a relative in St. James's Place, and Mrs. Shore lived in the same street, the two future Rulers of millions associated together during their holidays as well as at school. And Lord Teignmouth, visiting Lord Hastings when the latter was on the eve of departure for India, reminded him of their early acquaintance.

Mr. Shore embarked for India at the age of seventeen. His parting at Gravesend, final as it proved with his beloved parent, was during many years fresh in his recollection. He adverts with gratitude to her care and judgment, in supplying him with books calculated to foster the religious principles which she had early implanted. Among these, he particularly mentions Clarke's and Seed's Sermons, recommended to her by her friend Dr. Hawkesworth, author of the "Adventurer," whom she had consulted on the subject. From the latter of these works he derived his first impressions of the force of the Evidences of Christianity.

Mr. Shore's messmates on board of the vessel which conveyed him to India were a disorderly set of Writers and Cadets, about a dozen in number; who contrived, amidst other extravagancies, to fight two duels during a short delay at Portsmouth, and three or four more at places intermediate or at the end of the voyage. His captain was a rough well-meaning sailor, exhibiting an extraordinary medley of occasional profaneness and uneducated religious notions. It was his invariable practice on Sunday to let down a canvas curtain at one end of the cuddy—for he reserved to himself no cabin; and to read the Church Service—a duty which he considered a complete clearance of the sins of the preceding week: and, that they might not accumulate too fast, he was heard, when he had chanced, in the hurry of giving orders, to utter an oath, to ejaculate a prayer for forgiveness; observing, "Let us rub off as we go."

Such were the associates whom Mr. Shore graphically delineates in a lively and affectionate Letter to his Mother, the first of his epistolary productions, which has been preserved:—

"HONOURED MADAM— "January 1, 1769.

"I begin my Letter with the New Year. May you, my Brother, and all my friends, enjoy many of them, and may they be happy! You see I have begun early: it is, that you may hear the more from me, as I know it will give you pleasure. This is the first time, My dear Mother, I was ever widely separated from you; and I have leisure to perceive the loss that I sustain in your absence—a loss which scarce any consideration can wholly indemnify. It is true, I have met with a great friend, who is ever ready to assist me with his advice or any other little service he can: I mean Mr. Hancock, a gentleman of real merit and real worth, and an exceeding good scholar. He confers all the obligations on me he can, gratifies me with the use of his cabin, and library—an article the most useful and agreeable of all others, as he has a large collection of Latin, Greek, and English authors. I have free access to them at all times—a privilege I make a good use of. He has also very obligingly invited me to live with him at the Cape, which will save me some expence. I dare say it will give you pleasure to find how luckily in this respect I am situated.

"We had some very hard gales in the Bay of Biscay, which to a young sailor must necessarily appear very dreadful: they were, in reality, dangerous! I was most miserably sick the whole time, and for many days after. I sincerely wished myself in England more than once, I assure you. I now begin more fully to comprehend the character of my ship and messmates. Portsmouth served as a mirror, where their actions, and even their very thoughts, were reflected. You cannot guess how truly mean and despicable some of them appear, contriving and hatching up every scheme to pick up a little money which their present poverty or future prospect of indigence can suggest. That town, in short, has been fatal to many. I wish indeed, for my part, I could say I had lived at Spithead as I ought; for though I was not often on shore, I am conscious I entered into many extravagances, which were entirely needless. I have not indeed distressed myself: I hope you will therefore excuse it as the effect of levity and inconsideration, and not consider me in the light of a spendthrift—a character I shall ever dislike, and ever condemn. I have indeed gained experience, sufficient to keep me from the like pernicious extremes for the future.

"Upon our leaving England, the Cadets and Writers used the great cabin promiscuously; but finding they were troublesome and quarrelsome, we *brought a Bill into the House* for their ejectment, which was carried by a majority of votes in our favour: in consequence of which, several libels and party papers came out, under the title of "Anonymous": and as they were chiefly against the Writers, I answered them by one severe satire, in which, under feigned names, I exposed many of them. I was suspected as the author, and threatened very highly with the loss of my ears: but the storm seems to be hushed: they continue in silence, and I am content. The characters are allowed to be exactly copied from nature. I wrote them by the connivance of the second mate, in his cabin; a very obliging worthy good kind of man, who shews me many civilities. His name is Henry Pascal, the captain's brother-in-law; and I assure you it is greatly owing to him I am so happy.

"I dare say you would like to hear the captain's character. To begin with his good qualities;—he is humane, honest, grateful, well-meaning, and tolerably good-natured. I wish I could mention any more of his virtues; for he has behaved so well to me, I could allow them to him upon very trifling pretensions; but for obstinacy, ignorance, imperiousness to his officers, and an extreme *mauvais gout*, he exactly answers the idea Smollet gives us in the character of Commodore Trunnion, *aliàs* Hannibal Tough; and as he frequently personates that hero, so he also has the honour of his name. I am pretty well in his good graces: and I must do his tough ship the justice to say, that his behaviour to me has been much more obliging than I could ever expect.

"But I dwell so long on these subjects, I fear you will think I have forgot my friends.—I hope you, and my dear Brother, and all, have continued in health;—though, from the infirmities of many, I can scarce flatter myself with that happiness. I beg you will tell them how much I thank them for the obligations their civilities have laid me under, which I shall be ever ready to acknowledge. You cannot imagine how agreeable the recollection is of those pleasures I have enjoyed, at different times, in their respective houses — at Milton Place, St. Anne's Hill, Luddington, Epping Forest, and London, and other places. I shall write to them all.

"I often reap the greatest satisfaction in reading over the Letters I received from you at Spithead.

I consider them as so many monuments of maternal tenderness and affection. I can see through them the watchful anxiety of an indulgent mother, whose whole thoughts are centered in the welfare of her children. It gives me much satisfaction to find by them that I have hitherto given you no cause to repent of my misconduct. I find also, with pleasure, my Brother's affectionate Letters. When I was with him, I little knew how I loved him; but an absence, such as this, confirms my affection, and teaches me how dear he is to me.

"I shall always, my dear Mother, steadfastly adhere to your advice, particularly in regard to bad company; and, on that account, have broken off some connections which I inevitably fell into before I could sufficiently distinguish whom it was my interest and inclination to cultivate, and whom to avoid. I do not in the least repent the choice of life I have made: on the contrary, I am more pleased with my condition every day. I never had any objection to this way of life, but to the distance by which we are separated, and by the pains of parting. The latter objection is pretty well overcome; and I must remain contented, as the former cannot be removed. As we are within a week's sail of the Cape, the preparations are making. If we should meet with any English ships at the Cape, homeward bound, I shall embrace the opportunity of writing to all my friends; but if there should be none, I must beg you to make my apology and respects to them, as I would not put them to the expense of paying for a Letter by the Dutch ships, there being no other method of conveyance.

"Whenever you have an opportunity, I would be obliged to you for a 'Dictionary of Arts and Sciences by a Number of Gentlemen,' as no such things are to be had in Bengal; together with a Treatise on Astronomy, and the Poems of Fingal. The method by which I amuse myself, is, by writing, ciphering, and the German flute; and with Hume's History of England, which Mr. Halhed has lent me: it is a much better style than Rapin's. I shall reserve a Postscript, to tell you how I like the Cape; and write you a longer Letter from Bengal.

"I am, Dear Mother,

"Your ever obedient, and ever dutiful Son."

The Satire mentioned in this Letter, after having been preserved many years, shared the fate of almost all the author's other productions in this style, to which he was naturally strongly addicted. Of the few remaining specimens of his satirical skill, one, sufficiently severe and cutting, written on a public functionary in India, was composed, as he alleged, in his sleep. Perceiving the pain inflicted by such sallies of wit, he soon desisted from indulging his propensity: and, during the latter years of his life, his disgust at Junius's malignity had extinguished the satisfaction which the point and eloquence of that writer had long afforded him.

"DEAR MOTHER— "Madras, Friday, May 19, 1769.

"We arrived here yesterday morning, after an agreeable passage from the Cape; and in the afternoon I came on shore, Mr. Hancock having very obligingly introduced me to a gentleman, at whose house I live. He introduced me to the Governor, to-day, with whom I dined. I supped last night at a Country-captain's; where I saw, for the first time, a specimen of the Indian taste; which, I assure you, was very elegant. Upon my honour, my dear mother, I never met with, or heard of, any gentleman in my life superior to Mr. Hancock, in generosity, good-nature, and humanity. He is universally admired and respected. You must be happy to think he takes so much notice of me. The season is remarkably hot; but it does not disagree with me. Numbers of people are dying; not a drop of rain having fallen. I never saw a greater proof of your tenderness and capacity than you shewed in fitting me out; for, upon a comparison, I find there are scarce two who are so well supplied, and with so much judgment. I have not settled whom to live with entirely, but I shall soon determine.

"I have been very healthy the whole passage, and very happy. The second and third mates have been particularly civil; the second, whose name is Mr. Pascal, exceedingly so: his regard is so sincere, that there is nothing in the world that he would not do to oblige me. There is not any one officer in the service who bears a character superior to him; very few equal. It will give you pleasure, I am sure, to think I have deserved the friendship of so honest a man. I hope my dear Brother will not fail to write me a long letter to Bengal: the pleasure I take in hearing cannot at all be equalled but by the pleasure I take in writing to him. He will soon, I suppose, determine what profession he chooses: pray let me know, particularly as no one can take more interest in his welfare than ourselves. Pray make my best respects to all my friends, and tell them I will not fail to write to them all from Bengal; and, if the shortness of our stay did but permit, I should not be wanting in that respect now.

. . . .

"Your ever dutiful and obedient Son.

"P.S. The Writers at Madras are exceedingly proud, and have the knack of forgetting their old acquaintance."

CHAPTER II.

ARRIVAL IN BENGAL—STATE OF THE PRESIDENCY—APPOINTED TO THE SECRET POLITICAL DEPARTMENT AT CALCUTTA—ASSISTANT TO THE COUNCIL OF MOORSHEDABAD.

Mr. Shore landed in Bengal in such ill health, that his shipmates despaired of his recovery; and he overheard them observing with sorrow, as he quitted the vessel, that he would never reach Calcutta.

To judge of the situation and circumstances of a youth entering his career at the period now brought under review, the reader must divest himself of impressions derived from the present state of our Indian settlements. The exclusive sovereignty of Great Britain in Bengal did not extend, at this time, beyond a few factories. It is true, that the East-India Company had been involved in several wars and revolutions; and that the memorable grant of the revenues of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa, including the civil and financial jurisdiction of those vast provinces, obtained four years previously from the Great Mogul, had placed in their hands the resources of the Subahdar (Viceroy) of Bengal: but the collection of the revenues, and attendant civil administration of justice, had been left till this very year in the hands of native functionaries.

Some check to the gross mismanagement and extortion practised by those who levied, and to the fraudulent evasion of those who paid the assessment, had been interposed by the appointment of European agents, named "Supervisors."

The Company regarded its Political, secondary and subservient to its Commercial objects. The government of the Colony was entrusted to a Council, usually composed of the junior servants of the Company; as the senior found their account in taking charge of the factories, and in remote employment. The Legislature having at length directed its inquiries to the causes and conduct of the important political transactions in which the Company had been engaged—viewing, whether through ignorance or negligence, that body exclusively in its commercial character—limited its interference to the provisions of the Statute of 1767. By this enactment, a share of the annual profits of the Company was reserved to the nation, without establishing any security for the investigation and controul of the means by which its revenues might be realised. A scheme for the partial accomplishment of these objects was frustrated by the loss, at sea, of the three Commissioners to whom its execution had been confided.

In remunerating its servants, the Company considered them rather as mercantile than political agents; allowing them, in lieu of fixed salaries proportioned to the importance of their duties, the right of indemnifying themselves by trade, as well as by various objectionable methods; one of which was especially fertile of abuse, and subsequently withdrawn—the liberty, after the Oriental fashion, of receiving presents. Of these, and various other privileges, its servants now retained that alone of trading on their own account; whilst the miserable pittance which they received as salary was the product of a commission on the ceded revenues of the three provinces.

Clive had strongly urged on the Directors the expediency of granting fixed and liberal salaries to their officers, as the most just and effectual method of putting a stop to the corruption; the reform of which was the grand object of his second vigorous administration. But his sound advice was overruled by their own reluctance to the measure, calculated, as they feared, to produce a cry for increased dividends on the part of the Proprietors, and a Ministerial attempt to rob them of a portion of their patronage. The adoption of the plan in Bengal was reserved for the administration of Lord

Cornwallis; but its advantages were not, till many years afterwards, extended to the other Presidencies.

The fruit of the illiberal system pursued by the East-India Company, and of the connivance and sanction of the Government, was the prevalence of inveterate corruption and dissipation amongst their servants. Clive depicted it forcibly in his speeches; and, writing in 1772, he observes, that private letters from India gave a most dreadful account of the luxury, dissipation, and extravagance of Bengal.

Calcutta had not yet become what it was destined to be, "a city of palaces." Mr. Shore found it—to borrow his own description, communicated many years afterwards to his son in India—consisting of houses, not two or three of which were furnished with Venetian blinds or glass windows; solid shutters being generally used; and rattans, like those used for the bottoms of chairs, in lieu of panes; whilst little provision was made against the heat of the climate. The town was rendered unhealthy by the effluvia from open drains; and, to conclude in his own words:—"I began life without connections and friends; and had scarcely a Letter of recommendation or introduction. There was no church in Calcutta, although Divine Service was performed in a room in the Old Fort on Sunday Mornings only; and there was only one Clergyman in Bengal.

Mr. Shore was appointed, soon after his arrival, to the Secret Political Department, and continued in it during a year. Many volumes of its Records are in his hand-writing. His annual salary amounted to 96 current rupees, exactly 12*l.*, according to the then existing value of that money; whilst he paid 125 Arcot rupees, or nearly double the above sum, for a miserable, close, and unwholesome dwelling.

General poverty supplied additional temptations to irregularity and corruption; the colony being much depressed by the heavy cost of the war in the Carnatic, and the failure of the revenues; whilst the gloom of its prospects was enhanced by that memorable famine, occasioned by the loss in Bengal of the harvest of an entire year, which, it is supposed, swept away one-fifth or one-sixth of its inhabitants. Of this calamity Mr. Shore was an eye-witness; and the following lines, forming part of a Poem written nearly forty years afterwards, proves that the impression which his mind had received from the circumstances with which a voyage on the Ganges had familiarised him had never been obliterated:—

"Still fresh in Memory's eye, the scene I view,
The shrivell'd limbs, sunk eyes, and lifeless hue;
Still hear the mother's shrieks and infant's moans,
Cries of despair, and agonizing groans.
In wild confusion, dead and dying lie;—
Hark to the jackall's yell, and vulture's cry,

The dog's fell howl, as, midst the glare of day,
They riot, unmolested, on their prey!
Dire scenes of horror! which no pen can trace,
Nor rolling years from Memory's page efface."

An ordeal more trying to the health, the integrity, and the morals of a youth, than that to which the Company's servants were now exposed, could not be conceived. Mr. Shore's constitution, originally robust, was speedily affected by the climate, producing sleeplessness, which became habitual to him during his residence in India; whilst, rather than subject his mother to expence, he denied himself almost necessary comforts, and, during the first two years, even the indulgence of a horse. Nor did he resist the almost universal contagion of bad example; and lived, to borrow the language of one of his earliest friends, as other young men did; still ever retaining his characteristic integrity, which soon won for him the well-merited appellation of "Honest John Shore."

"HONOURED MADAM— "Calcutta, Dec. 3, 1769.

. . . .

"The Writers, by their Charter, are permitted to trade, but under very severe restrictions. Before the arrival of Lord Clive, of infamous memory, they were allowed *dustucks*, i.e. a free trade and no duties,—and even since; but, by a late Order from our Honourable Masters, we are entirely deprived of any such advantages; which makes the risk very unequal.

. . . .

"I have seen the List of Directors, and am glad to find Mr. Sullivan is in. If Mr. Vansittart* should return to Bengal, as is very probable, Mr. Hancock has promised to use all his influence with him to serve me. Pray give me a long account of any events that may occasionally happen relative to them.—Our Helmsmen here do not seem to relish very well this alteration: it was what they had not the least expectation of. Our Governor, in particular, seems to be a little struck, as he has always been a very zealous partisan of Lord Clive's cause.

. . . .

"Dear Madam,
"Your ever dutiful and most obedient Son."

Whilst the young writer, suffering from Clive's rigorous system of reform, naturally joined in the prevailing outcry against his measures, he probably did not give him credit for that part of his plan to which the Directors refused their consent—the fair remuneration of their servants. Of Clive, in after-life, Lord Teignmouth often spoke, but not in unfavourable terms; observing, that the defence of his conduct in the House of Commons had been triumphant; and adverting enthusiastically to his celebrated decision, which led to the attack on the Dutch Fleet, and Chatham's no less celebrated comment on it.

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* This gentleman, father of Lord Bexley, was one of the Three Commissioners lost in the "Aurora" frigate, in Jan. 1771, on his voyage to India.

The Supervisors, of whom mention has been made, having been placed, in 1770, under the controul of two Councils—one at Moorshedabad, for the province of Bengal, and the other at Patna, for that of Behar—Mr. Shore was nominated Assistant to the former, in September of this year. And in consequence of the indolence of the chief of his department, and the absence of the second on a special mission, he suddenly found himself, at the age of nineteen, elevated from the humble drudgery of a Writer in a public office to the responsible situation of a Judge, invested with the civil and fiscal jurisdiction of a large district.

Of the magnitude of the burden imposed on him, it would be easier to form an idea than of the extent of the opportunities of tyranny and malversation placed within his reach. "Will you believe," observes Mr. Hastings, in a lately published Letter, "that the Boys of the Service are the Sovereigns of the country, under the unmeaning title of Supervisors, Collectors of the Revenue, Administrators of Justice, and Rulers, heavy Rulers, of the people. They are said to be under the controul of the Board of Revenue at Moorshedabad and Patna;"—which Mr. Hastings proceeds to describe, as superior in power, though nominally subject, to the Governor and Council.

The importance of the charge called forth the energy of Mr. Shore's character. The Court being distant from his residence, he would, on an emergency, remain trying causes, with little relaxation, from the hour of breakfast on one day, till that of supper on the following. These sometimes involved property to an immense amount. In a single year, he adjudicated six hundred; and from his decisions there were only two appeals—a proof of the precocious maturity of his judgment, and of the confidence of the suitors.

His integrity did not, however, escape imputation; and it may excite surprise that he was first brought to the notice of Mr. Hastings on a charge of corruption, instituted by native suitors, who had been disappointed by one of his decisions. Mr. Hastings immediately addressed a Letter to the Chief of his department, Mr. M——, beseeching him not to suffer his friendship for Mr. Shore to shield his guilt, if substantiated. Mr. Shore's accusers shrank from confrontation with him: and

Mr. Hastings was perfectly satisfied of his innocence, on his offering to declare, upon oath, that he had never received other remuneration of his official labours than that arising from the customary trifling fees.

Mr. Shore's evenings, usually passed in solitude at his country-house, were devoted to the prosecution of studies calculated both to qualify him for more important duties, and to supply his leisure with the means of profitable and delightful recreation.

So little had the utility of Oriental Learning been as yet appreciated by the Company's servants, that not three of them were conversant with any Oriental Language but Hindostanee; broken English being their only medium of communication with their native servants. Some of the future founders of the Asiatic Society had indeed, about this time, commenced their isolated grammatical and philological labours. Hastings had incited their ardour, by his example: and Wilkins had just reached India. But little facility or encouragement was afforded to those whose curiosity directed them to an apparently unpromising field of investigation.

Mr. Shore perceived the advantage to be derived from the study of the Oriental Languages. His industry embraced at once the Hindostanee, Persian, and Arabic. Nor did he neglect the

Bengalee; though not essential, as the natives with whom he sought conversation spoke Hindostanee. In the prosecution of his elementary pursuits, he was in a great measure his own pioneer. He acquired the Hindostanee Language through the medium of colloquial intercourse. It was his practice to employ an individual who had held the office of Story-teller in the service of various Nabobs, in narrating to him, as he reposed after dinner, tales extracted from the works of different authors. He fortunately obtained the assistance of a Hindostanee Grammar, written by an Englishman slain at Patna. But his knowledge of Persian and Arabic was originally derived exclusively from oral instruction; for he had not the advantage of a Grammar or a Dictionary, in either of these languages. Some years afterwards, he obtained Meninski's valuable compilation of Arabic, Persian, and Turkish Dictionaries. His first aim in studying a language was, to acquire a thorough knowledge of the verbs, which he regarded as a key to all its mysteries. In the Persian Language and Literature, to which his attention was chiefly directed, his proficiency was considerable.

A lasting friendship was formed between the pupil and his Moonshee. Grateful for some services rendered to him by Mr. Shore, this attached native transmitted to him at Calcutta a present of

Oriental books. The whole collection was swamped in the Ganges, and irrecoverably, excepting a single volume—a splendid copy of the Shah Nameh of Phirdoosi. Its pages are yet stained by the waters of the sacred river*. Not satisfied, however, with this costly proof of his regard to his benefactor, the Moonshee, who had become wealthy, afforded him yet more substantial evidence of his recollection, by earnestly requesting him, when on the point of leaving India, to accept a sum amounting to 1600*l*.

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* The distinguished Oriental scholar, Sir William Ouseley, in a Letter to Lord Teignmouth, attests the value of this copy:—

"MY LORD— "Crickhowel, July 17, 1827.

"After an absence of some days from home, I have only this morning received your Lordship's Letter of the 11th; in consequence of which, the beautiful and most excellent copy of the *Sháh Námeh*, lent to me so many years ago by your Lordship, is forwarded by this day's mail-coach, very carefully packed. For the long use of so valuable a MS. I beg to return my sincerest thanks. Copies of the same work, neither so ancient, handsome, nor so accurate, I have seen in Persia, estimated at more than an hundred guineas. It has been of considerable service to me, in a collation with three very fine copies in my own possession, and several in other collections. Having read it *from beginning to end*, I can venture to declare, that, in my opinion, a more valuable copy has never been brought to Europe; and that but few (if any) equal could be found in Persia.

"With a repetition of my best thanks, I have the honour to be,
My Lord,
"Your Lordship's obliged and obedient servant,
"WILLIAM OUSELEY."

on the plea that the latter had saved little, and that the state of his health would prevent him again exposing himself to an Indian climate. Mr. Shore, whilst he declined the proposal, was much affected by this trait of generosity; and happily enjoyed, on returning to India, an opportunity of testifying his regard to his friend, by rendering essential assistance to his family: for the Moonshee had died during his absence, and left his children consuming his property in litigation. Mr. Shore offered his services as arbitrator of their differences, and acquitted himself of his duty to their satisfaction.

Extensive intercourse with the natives, and experimental skill acquired by personal superintendence of a small farm — a practice afterwards prohibited to the Company's servants,—followed by subsequent researches, supplied Mr. Shore with that ample information respecting the habits, manners, and customary tenures of the people, and that clear insight into the complicated machinery of their revenue systems, to which his success in after-life was mainly attributable.

His new and various studies did not divert him from the cultivation of European and Classical Literature. To refresh his recollection of Latin, he regularly kept a journal in that language; whilst he perused the Greek Testament and Homer, and selected passages from other authors. But he found that the advantage of exemption from interruption which he now enjoyed did not compensate for the want of conversation on the subject of his studies; and he attributed to his unavoidably solitary habits, during a great part of his residence in India, his having forgotten, notwithstanding the tenacity of his memory, much of his laboriously-acquired knowledge.

The small remaining portion of his correspondence with his mother at this period may be referred to, not only as conveying his opinions and reflecting his feelings, but as deriving additional interest from the light which it sheds on surrounding scenes and objects.

"Moorshedabad, April 1, 1772.

"MY DEAR MOTHER—

. . . .

"The place of my residence at present is a garden-house of the Nabob, about four miles distant from Moorshedabad. I will not be so disingenuous as to leave this assertion unexplained; as you might be led to imagine from it, that my intimacy and influence with the proprietor must be very great, to entitle me to the favour of occupying his house; which is so far from being true, that he has scarce a personal knowledge of me. Absence from Moorshedabad not interfering with business, I have been enticed hither by a love of retirement and a healthy air; my former place of abode being less agreeable, and the air less salutary during the hot months.

"Whatever the pastoral poets and lucubrators have so flatteringly described as composing the charms of solitude, I here enjoy—cooing doves, whistling blackbirds, and a purling stream: and you will naturally think, that in so hot a climate these rural objects must be doubly pleasing.

"But whether the mind partakes of the languishing inactivity of the body, or what is the reason, I am not sufficiently philosophical or selfish to feel any real enjoyment in things, unless participated with those I love. Here I am quite solitary, and, except once a week, see nobody of a Christian complexion. Little improvement or entertainment can be had from conversations with the natives, their ideas being very confined and debased. Those amongst them who have studied the Persian and Arabic languages (a critical knowledge of the latter being esteemed the very perfection of science) commonly prove self-sufficient pedants, with learning enough to make them impertinent; and as to the unlearned, nothing but a desire to attain the necessary information regarding their religious and civil customs (of which even they are capacitated to give but imperfect accounts) can make their company tolerable. It is here proper to notice, that these remarks are made on the Mahomedans.

"In this solitude, I find no time glide away more imperceptibly and pleasingly than when you are the subject of my meditations; which is very frequently the case. I frame in my mind resemblances (which perhaps have their existence there only) between the rural landscapes which surround me here, and those which you and I have frequented in happier days. But the face of this country has no agreeable variety of hills and valleys, groves and lawns; no elegant villa rises to the sight; no distant town to bound the prospect. The surface, for the space of some hundred miles, is perfectly level, with neither hill nor stone on it. A brick house, though highly mean and inelegant, is uncommon, even in the capital city of Bengal: there are few to be compared with yours in Pulteney Street. Latterly, the inhabitants have begun to imitate our buildings;—a measure which nothing but an obstinate attachment to their own absurd customs, and too lazy a disposition to learn better, would have hindered their adopting sooner, since their own habitations are exceedingly ill adapted to the climate.

"It is customary with the Gentoos, as soon as they have acquired a moderate fortune, to dig or purchase a pond. Besides the convenience resulting from the proximity of a piece of water for the purpose of daily bathing, a ceremony strictly enjoined by their religion, they draw a kind of standing revenue, or means of subsistence, from it; as those of the strictest principles eat nothing which has life, but fish. Before the revenues of this country became the immediate property of the Company (who now assume an authority over the natives not inferior to French despotism), the landholders and farmers of extensive districts dug many large lakes for the benefit of the public, some of which still remain, and are worthy of admiration. At present, the poverty of people of the highest rank is an obstacle to their carrying on works of such extent and expense. The utility of these lakes is not to be estimated by the same standard it would be in England, where the beauty of their appearance would be principally considered. The great scarcity of water proper to be drunk, from the whole soil being impregnated with saltpetre, made it highly meritorious in any person to supply the public with an element in its purity so indispensably necessary to a nation of water-drinkers. The English, and other Europeans residing in Bengal, drink rain-water in preference to all other, being much lighter and wholesomer.

"*April* 26.—Whether the natives are happier under the administration of the English, who have eased the poorer sort of many burdens, than under the arbitrary authority of their own country Governors, is a matter of doubt to me. They have not that opinion which every Englishman glories in, and encourages with such enthusiasm—of the essentiality of liberty to happiness. The regard they entertained for Rulers of the same clime and faith made them submit to their dictates with a degree of zeal which they seldom exert in obeying the commands of a foreign power; which, though enforced with a less heavy hand, are sometimes issued without the proper respect for their religious usages and customs. They have in one respect obtained a great advantage—the security of their houses and effects against the ravages of the Mahrattas and other plunderers. Upon the whole, if we should confer happiness upon them, it will be in spite of themselves.

"Will not these digressions prove tiresome? or, as I presume, do you rather feel a curiosity to be acquainted with anecdotes of the people amongst whom I live? A desire of satisfying the questions you have made concerning particulars of this nature has often betrayed me into repetitions which must be disgustful. The immense number of things to be remarked cannot be ascertained by one view: the first idea I form, appears, on retrospect, to be always imperfect, and often erroneous. I endeavour therefore, by observations founded upon a more intimate knowledge, to amplify those remarks which are cursory, and correct those which are false. As to facts, I never assert the authenticity of them, unless I have previously received conviction; but with regard to speculative points, I must beg your indulgence for representing them differently, occasioned by the different points of view in which they are offered to my sight.

"Are you not rather disappointed in receiving no accounts of the progress I have made in the acquisition of a fortune? I wish, for your sake more than for my own, I could with truth boast of having done so; but the road to opulence grows daily narrower, and is more crowded with competitors, all eagerly pressing towards the goal, though few arrive there. I am not at present anyways avaricious, and should be contented with a moderate sum: perhaps, when that modicum is acquired, I shall be thirsting after a little more. The Court of Directors are actuated with such a spirit of reformation and retrenchment, and so well seconded by Mr. Hastings, that it seems the rescission of all our remaining emoluments will alone suffice it. The Company's Service is in fact rendered an employ not very desirable. Patience, perseverance, and hope, are all I have left. I am now embarked for life; and must endeavour to steer my vessel through all the hardships and perils of the voyage, carefully catching every favourable gale which will wing me to the desired port. Rest assured, my dear Mother, nothing shall allure me to part with my honesty, or disgrace the precepts I have received from you, and which your own example has so well exemplified. Poor I am, and may remain so; but conscious rectitude shall never suffer me to blush at being so.

"It is inconceivable to what invidiousness an exalted rank in the Company's employ in Bengal is exposed. The very best characters do not escape calumny. I mention this, to caution you against paying too implicit a belief of the censures published in England by the interested and disappointed. Many recent instances might be pointed out, of worthy men having been traduced and rendered infamous by reports propagated by ill nature, or to serve some private ends. Unluckily, these illiberal accusations gain too much credit in Leadenhall Street, from the difficulty attending a disproval of them; and to this cause may in great measure be assigned the severe orders issued by the Court of Directors.

"*May* 28.—Three years, and almost four, have elapsed, since I had the happiness of seeing you. How many more must revolve before we meet again, is a reflection which leaves behind it a melancholy uncertainty. Yet I do not know how it is that these reflections find room in my heart, and embitter my transient joys. There are even hours, in which, thought succeeding to thought, my despair is so violent, as to be soothed by nothing but the mildness of the Christian Religion. This, my dear Mother, is the refuge I apply to in anxieties. When the world displeases me, I withdraw to converse with my God. Would to Heaven I had resolution enough thus piously to direct every movement of my life! But temptation comes under such pleasing and varied shapes, and is received by most people so cordially, that, from the agreeableness of her form, the force of example, and the weakness of the will, the flesh falls into iniquities, and leads the spirit to be afterwards mortified into repentance.

"I believe I before mentioned to you the too great prevalence of immorality in this Settlement, and wish I could now advise you of an amendment. Were these sentiments divulged, not the uncontroverted truth of them would be sufficient to guard the singularity of my censures from the attacks of ridicule. And yet, every man who will condescend to exercise his reason, unprejudiced, must be of the same opinion: but uninterrupted employments or succession of dissipations leave but a short time for serious consideration. You will perhaps conclude, from the disregard with which

Religion is treated, that the number of Free-thinkers must be great: they are, in fact, but few. As I am on this topic, I will relate an accident which has happened since my arrival, the particulars of which I have heard repeatedly confirmed by one of the parties concerned.

"Three of this sect had dined together, and had given free scope to the licentiousness of their favourite principles in their conversation during dinner-time; and, for their afternoon's amusement, went on board a bràid, to take the air on the water. Wine had animated them too much to leave room for reflection; and, in the height of wantonness, they overset the boat. The most abandoned of the party, exulting in his superior skill in swimming, leaped from the edge of the sinking vessel into the water, and, in a strain of bantering blasphemy, said, "The Lord has smote us now!" and jokingly asked his companions if they had any commands to his black friends below.—The close of this scene, how dreadful!—though but a small distance from the shore, he sank before he reached it, never to rise alive again! What a lesson for the scoffers at morality! Is not this example enough to convert the most hardened atheist? From the circumstances attending this horrid adventure, it seems evident to me that Providence interposed.

"You will, I hope, excuse the freedom I take, in requesting you not to shew my Letters to any persons who have correspondents in this part of the world. Though I write nothing I should be ashamed to avow and maintain at all times and places, yet the most innocent sentiments, when displayed by a satirical pen, become ridiculous; and often the more so, in proportion as they are of a private nature.

. . . .

"*July* 6.—From the confidence you have so long reposed in me, I cannot but consider you equally in the light of a friend and a mother: the regard I feel for the one is blended inseparably with the respect I owe to the other; so that my duty and inclination go hand in hand, and make but one passion. This naturally leads me to consider the unhappy situation of those parents and children between whom this desirable union does not subsist—a reflection which endears you more to me. That you may long remain exempt from the severer pains incident to humanity—for some infirmities are the lot of mankind—blessed in the love and obedience of your children, and happy in the esteem of your friends, is the wish of gratitude, reverence, and filial love; and all the reward they can at present make.

"I almost envy my brother in the choice he has made; and now think I should have been happier had I fixed upon the same. It is not to be doubted but he will be a credit to his cloth, and an honour to society. When he seriously weighs the superior importance of his station over all other professions, his volatility of spirits and giddiness of youth, the effects of a good constitution, which for the present exclude thought, will gradually subside into a settled cheerfulness of temper, so suitable to the pacific tenets of the Christian doctrine. Endowed with strong natural sense and goodness of disposition, the force of example and your advice will mould him into any thing. The satisfaction you express at his conduct gives me equal delight with your approbation of mine; and I am heartily glad his dutiful and tender deportment towards you has rendered so many of your hours happy.

"The death of Doctor Sumner was an event which both surprised and afflicted me. His behaviour to me whilst under his care—the whole propriety and kindness of which I did not comprehend at the time, but have since, upon recollection—had raised in my heart the highest esteem for him: his memory will still be dear to me, and all who were acquainted with his several merits of a good man and accomplished scholar.

. . . .

"In the advice I gave my brother, I consulted less the ability I had for doing it properly, than the love I bear him. As you approved what I wrote, and enjoined me to continue, I shall endeavour to communicate some sentiments applicable to his intended mode of life. It is an office which might be much better exercised by yourself.

. . . .

"A voyage nearly round the world has lately been completed by Dr. Banks, Dr. Solander, &c. for making discoveries for the improvement of Botany and Philosophy in general. Should these Travels be published, I shall be much obliged to you to send me the book out; as the articles of the undertakers must give room to suppose that it will be a work of great merit. In the catalogue of books which you sent me, there is one entitled "Consolations of Philosophy, by Boethius," quotations of which I have seen prefixed as mottos to some of the Papers of the "Rambler" and "Adventurer." You will do me a singular favour by sending me the Latin editions of this Work. I believe it was originally written in Latin; for I find there is scarce a language in which it may not be met with. If I may be allowed to form a judgment of the whole from the extracts of the performance which I have seen, it contains some of the finest moral sentiments I have ever met with. I will also beg the favour of "Scott's Versification of the Book of Job," and "Glover's Leonidas." The libraries brought out by the captains and mates of Indiamen into this country for sale, though very voluminous, consist mostly of novels, and such books as are termed, by the London shopkeepers, "light summer reading," and such as are sent, at stated seasons, in large cargoes, to Bath, Tunbridge Wells, and such places. I had the good luck, last year, to furnish myself, at a very cheap rate, with some Latin and Greek Classics; which one of the captains, ill judging of the mart to which he brought them, imagined to have sold at a high premium.

. . . .

"I am sorry to find, by the accounts received this year from Europe, that such violent opinions should everywhere prevail of the oppression and peculation exercised by the Company's servants in India, and that the famine was in great measure owing to monopolies made by them*. Mr. ——

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* Mr. Shore, many years afterwards, thus explains, in a Note to a Poem, the origin of the famine :—

"The calamity here described happened in 1770, and was solely occasioned by the failure of the periodical rains in the autumn of 1769 and the spring of 1770. The autumnal harvest of Bengal gives about three-fourths, and the vernal harvest one-fourth of the annual produce; consequently there was a failure of the harvest of an entire year. The natives, little apprehending such a calamity, were not provided against the consequences of it. The numbers supposed to have perished for want of food have been vaguely estimated, without sufficient data, at one-fifth or one-sixth of the whole population. That whole villages were depopulated, has in particular been blamed for these practices, both here and at home; and it was to him, amongst others, I alluded, in the caution I gave you in the preceding sheets. Upon my first arrival at Moorshedabad, the scarcity was at the greatest height; and the reports concerning Mr. ——'s monopolies were everywhere ripe. Prompted by my natural curiosity, and with a view of discovering that gentleman's real character, I made all the inquiries I could amongst the inhabitants of the city and English gentlemen residing there, but could never discover any foundation for the accusation.

. . . .

"With hearty wishes for your health and happiness,

"I remain, my dear Mother,

"Your truly affectionate and dutiful Son."

lated, and the towns thinned, is a fact; and the circumstances detailed in the poem were literally true. Ignorance and prejudice have attributed the famine to the avarice and machinations of the English; and Sir Francis Sykes, who left Bengal eighteen months before the famine commenced, has been calumniated as the author of it. Whoever knows the country of Bengal, knows that no art can produce a famine there." Bishop Barrington had partaken so fully of the prevailing belief respecting Sir F. Sykes's guilt, that he had declined visiting him; till hearing Lord Teignmouth accidentally allude to the circumstances which gave rise to it, the liberal-minded prelate expressed his surprise, and declared his intention of embracing the earliest opportunity of rectifying his error.

CHAPTER III.

PROGRESSIVE RISE IN THE SERVICE—APPOINTED TO THE PROVINCIAL COUNCIL OF REVENUE AT CALCUTTA—DISTRACTED STATE OF THE PRESIDENCY—PURSUES AN INDEPENDENT COURSE—APPOINTED SECOND MEMBER OF THE GRAND COUNCIL OF REVENUE.

THE resolution of the East-India Company to take the collection of the revenues of the three provinces subject to their sway more immediately into their hands, was carried into effect in 1772, by Mr. Hastings adopting, soon after his arrival in India, what was called the Quinquennial Settlement, or five years' lease of the lands. The Supervisors were now designated Collectors. And the Council to which Mr. Shore belonged having been abolished, its duties being transferred to a Council of Revenue at Calcutta, he was appointed First Assistant to the Resident of the province of Rajeshahe.

"TO BURY HUTCHINSON, ESQ.

"DEAR BURY— "Moidapore, Oct. 20, 1773.

. . . .

"Many thanks for your kind inquiries after my health and situation. I am tolerably well in both respects; but should be better contented were the profit to be equal to the credit of the office I hold. An explanation of my present employment will, I dare say, surprise you;—it is, the distribution of justice amongst the inhabitants of a very large district. Every Civil cause—that is to say, every dispute where the peace is not broken through—comes under my cognisance; and though you will judge this more properly the province of an able lawyer, yet a tolerable knowledge of the language, and the being somewhat conversant with the religious and judicial customs of the people (which are never infringed in our decisions), are sufficient qualifications for exercising this business.

Notwithstanding I have met with as much success and countenance as most adventurers who have settled in this country at the early period of life I did, I cannot but regret that I ever left England; so true is the old adage, that

Cœlum non animum mutant qui trans mare currunt.

Not that I lament the loss of the diversions in Europe: it is the frequency of dissipation in this place that I complain of, and the unsettled mode of life I am in. The die is, however, now cast; and I must extend my views to futurity, banishing all retrospect on the past. These are sentiments which I wish to be concealed from my mother, as they will necessarily make her uneasy.

. . . .

"Believe me, with much regard, your
affectionate friend and humble servant."

The three provinces were in this year distributed into six grand divisions. Each was placed under the controul of a Council, the members of which superintended in rotation the Civil business; whilst a subordinate and limited jurisdiction, coupled with the charge of collecting the revenues, was entrusted to the natives, as Deputies of the Councils: and the Councils were subject to the appellate jurisdiction of the Supreme Court of Calcutta, till the establishment of the Grand Council of Revenue. Mr. Shore, having temporarily acted as Persian Translator and Secretary to the Provincial Board at Moorshedabad, was appointed Fifth Member of the Board at Calcutta; and he at once exchanged the stillness and seclusion, in which his days had hitherto flowed peacefully along, for the angry contentions of the seat of unsettled and divided government.

By the Act for regulating Indian Affairs, passed in 1773, progressive approximation was made to that centralizing of authority which is essential to the administration of a remote colony. The supreme power was vested in a Council, consisting of five members, one of whom enjoyed the title of Governor General, together with the privilege of the casting vote;—but, as yet, without separate responsibility. And to this Council was assigned a negative controul, in the shape of a veto, over the Presidencies of Madras and Bombay, in regard to wars and negociations.

The result of a system of government so ill constituted became soon apparent;—fluctuating councils at home, and perpetual feuds and factions among the functionaries in India, embroiling the Presidencies, or the Governor-General and his colleagues in the Council; embarrassing all the proceedings of Government, and spreading discord and confusion through every branch of the Service: whilst fresh fuel was supplied to the flame of contention, by the institution, under the same Act, of a Supreme Court of Judicature, formed ostensibly to remedy the defects in the administration of justice, but in effect to set up an authority rivalling, and, by an extravagant assumption of power, usurping the functions of the Supreme Government.

The Act was brought into operation in October 1774, on the arrival of three of the Members of the Council — Mr. (afterwards Sir Philip) Francis, Gen. Clavering, and Col. Monson. Mr. Hastings was immediately involved in differences with his new colleagues; and being supported only by the remaining Member of the Council, Mr. Barwell, was in the minority, though dignified with the title of Governor General; till the death of Col. Monson in 1776, when he obtained the ascendancy. And the subsequent return of Mr. Francis to England, on the occasion of his final rupture and duel with Mr. Hastings, in 1780, relieved the Governor-General from the opposition of his most powerful and virulent adversary. During this stormy period of seven years, the seat of Government was on the verge of civil war.

Mr. Shore received his new appointment from Mr. Hastings's opponents at the Board, who had set aside the Governor-General's recommendations. Perceiving the distracted state of the public councils, and consequent violence of party spirit, he determined at once on pursuing an independent course, though not without anxious apprehensions of its proving a bar to his advancement in the Service. Once, whilst expressing his fears on this subject to an old gentleman named Burgess, he received, in reply, advice which he adopted as his rule of conduct, and frequently inculcated on others, having himself made full proof of its value:—"Make yourself useful, and you will succeed."

Though unfettered by party engagements, Mr. Shore avowed his opinions, which were generally unfavourable to Mr. Hastings's measures. On one occasion, and on one alone, did he revise, at the request of Mr. Francis, who gladly availed himself of Mr. Shore's practical acquaintance with revenue subjects, "a bitter philippic," in the shape of a minute levelled at the Governor-General. The peculiar malignity of the style of this document had deterred another friend from undertaking the invidious task. Mr. Shore acquitted himself of his engagement dexterously, but not without difficulty. His objection to some startling statements were met, on Mr. Francis's part, by the reply, That as strong assertions were hazarded on one side, they might be met by corresponding asseverations on the other. When urging Mr. Francis to omit the most acrimonious passages of his minute, and seasoning his suggestion with a little flattery, to which the author's vanity rendered him accessible, he remarked, That the force of Mr. Francis's arguments required no such adventitious aid;—the latter did not comply till after he had peremptorily accused him of having acted the part of a man who first cut another's throat, and afterwards endeavours to sew it up.

In regard to the disputed question respecting the authorship of Junius, it may not be inappropriate to observe, that Mr. Shore, though intimately acquainted with Mr. Francis, and conversant with his polemical writings during a protracted period of exasperating contentions, and equally familiar with the writings of Junius, professed himself incapable of perceiving any characteristic, except malignity, common to these two eminent masters of the controversial pen.

Of the inadequacy of functionaries to the duties imposed on the Indian Service, which deprived them of vacation till incapacitated by sickness, Mr. Shore suffered the effects; and he was compelled to take a voyage for the recovery of his health in 1775, and again in 1777. At the former period we find him an unknown stranger at Madras.

"TO MRS. SHORE.

"MY DEAR MOTHER— "Madras, Feb. 17, 1775.

. . . .

"You will be much better pleased on being informed that my journey has been attended with the benefit to my health I expected from it; so that I already began to think of returning to Bengal, where my presence, though it may be dispensed with, cannot but be wanted, in a public and private capacity. Were I to consult my inclination only, I never should desire to see the town of Calcutta again; or, at least, till more unanimity prevails amongst the inhabitants.

" The want of friends, and of a proper introduction to the gentlemen in this place, I find very disagreeable; and the first day of my arrival, which was the 15th, I was absolutely at a loss wherein to put my head. Had Sir John Clerk proceeded to Madras, his recommendation would have had a sufficient weight to insure me a polite reception with the most considerable people; and depending on this, I neglected procuring any Letters from my intimates in Bengal. It is, however, a matter of much indifference to me, as long as I am not obliged to remain in the street; and the civilities of one gentleman, whom I never saw in my life before, has prevented that. There is no necessity, on my part, for the paying of formal visits, for giving attendance at great men's levees, or for flattering false wit—a species of servility I never would submit to were my fortune at stake, and hardly here where I expect complaisance alone.

" The confusion and hurry I am in destroys that cool consideration I would wish to have about me when I write to you. I do not feel, when I am in this state, that mild, soothing affection which is eased and relieved by tears alone, and which seldom fails attending me when I am thus employed.

. . . .

" Since my arrival here, I have turned many a longing look to my native country. Hitherto, my anxiety at being separated from my friends has been in some measure supportable; but I feel at times an uneasiness I cannot calm. Fool that I was, to give up so many real comforts of life, moderate enjoyments actually in my power, for ideal visionary projects, which are now darkened with an impenetrable obscurity!—It it impossible, I see, to write to you without being attacked by melancholy. Whatever hurry or confusion I may be in when I commence my Letter, I always feel myself calm before it draws towards a conclusion. It is unnatural to imagine mere external objects should destroy those vestiges of affection which are imprinted in our youngest years, and gradually and daily become deeper and deeper. As long as my intellect remains undisturbed, the remembrance of your kindness, so often and so repeatedly excited in such great degrees, must always exist undiminished. Like a lover ever voluminous in praises of his mistress's beauty, so could I willingly bestow my time in expatiating on the topics of maternal fondness, and in enumerating every trifling instance of it, even from the years of childhood; and the more so, as there is so great a doubt whether I shall ever experience the same again personally. Hope—which, it is said, travels with us ever—has almost quitted me; and despair fills up a large space in the volume of futurity, which still remains to be explored by me. It is always a subject of the most agreeable consolation to me, that my dear brother is situated in such a condition as promises to insure him happiness, both in this world and in the future. Thrice happy indeed am I, that I may in justice reflect that my arguments have had weight with him, in determining him to resign all thoughts of acquiring opulence in India!

"I am almost ashamed to send you this scrawl; but you will, I hope, make allowances for me, just arrived as I am in a Settlement where I am unknown, without a room, and not a single convenience. Pray remember my love to my brother. My respects and compliments to relations and friends.

"With every wish for your health and prosperity, I remain, My dear Mother,

"Your truly affectionate
"Dutiful Son and obedient servant."

Mr. Shore at this time visited Pondicherry, the capital of the French Settlements in India; and received much attention from the Governor, Law, descendant of the famous projector of the Mississippi scheme.

In his Letters, written on his return to Calcutta, he depicts forcibly the distracted state of the

Settlement, and the dissolution of public and private confidence.

"TO BURY HUTCHINSON, ESQ.

"DEAR SIR— "Calcutta, Nov. 20, 1775.

. . . .

"Dancing, riding, hunting, shooting, are now our employments. In proportion as the inhabitants of this Settlement have increased, we are become much less sociable and hospitable than formerly. The demon of party and politics has now broke loose amongst us; and in the room of private and public confidence, has planted suspicion, envy, and distrust. You may imagine no person's situation can be agreeable in such times; and a very small competence would induce me to leave a place where these disturbances will be increased, before they subside.

. . . .

"Your obliged and obedient humble servant."

"TO THE SAME.

"DEAR SIR— "Calcutta, Sept. 1, 1776.

"By some very late advices, it seems probable that no alterations will take place in our political establishment here, at least for the following twelve months. Disputes have been carried too far to admit of any cordiality amongst our Supreme Council, notwithstanding the recommendations to that effect of the Court of Directors; so that the same discord must continue. The public business here does not, indeed, suffer so much as may be expected from these dissensions; but it is very clear they can be attended with no one good consequence, either to the Company, country, or generality of individuals.

"I have avoided as much as possible being considered of any party: and, in my public conduct, can with truth assert, have been actuated by no other principle than the duty I owe to my employers. Though this country is comparatively in a much worse state than it formerly was, I am yet convinced, that if any administration would attend to the regulation of its affairs, and to the establishing of them on a valid and immutable footing, it would, in every point of view, become a source of increasing wealth to the proprietors of it. But whilst the Councils in Leadenhall Street are fluctuating, and animosity prevails here, nothing fundamentally good can be done, or can be expected. The state of it is now so well known here, that nothing but unanimity and resolution are wanting to effect the most desired change.

"Yours, &c."

Mr. Shore's second absence from Calcutta exempted him from the fate of his colleagues at the Council Board; who were deprived of their functions, on the charge of disobedience of orders and neglect of duty. They laid the guilt imputed to them on the irregularity and refractoriness of the Duan or Native Minister attached to the Board, Gunga-Govind Sing, who had been re-instated by Mr. Hastings in the office from which he had been dismissed at Mr. Francis's suggestion, partly on the charge of embezzlement and misappropriation of the public money, but principally on account of his general bad character. This notorious individual proved a constant source of annoyance to the Council; and an especial thorn in the side of Mr. Shore, on whom the chief responsibility afterwards devolved.

"TO BURY HUTCHINSON, ESQ.

"MY DEAR SIR— "Moorshedabad, Nov. 27, 1778.

. . . .

"The friends who are willing to do me essential service are not able; and, considering the violent party spirit that has now reigned for above four years in Bengal, it is a fortunate circumstance for me to be able to keep upon good terms with one party without making myself offensive to the others.

Mr. Francis is my friend; and will, I believe, give me proofs of it, whenever time shall put it into his power.

"The near approach of the period when the Company's Charter shall expire cannot fail to give me, as well as every other servant of the Company, some apprehension. Conjecture cannot point out what will be the consequence; and we can only wait with impatience and anxiety for that decision which is to determine all our fates. If the points of right and convenience should be attended to in the debates upon this important question, no doubt can remain about the matter; but I have lived long enough to see that other motives influence statesmen and politicians, as well as individuals. There is no commerce between Great Britain and Hindostan that can effect a profit to the adventurers.

. . . .

"Yours, &c."

Uninterrupted health enabled Mr. Shore, in the following year, to take a somewhat prominent part in the controversies in which a fresh schism involved the unfortunate Colony of Bengal. The Supreme Court of Judicature was invested with the most important powers. "In Civil cases," says Mill, "its jurisdiction extended to all claims against the Company, and against British subjects, and to all such claims of British subjects against the natives, as the party, in the contract under dispute, had agreed, in case of dispute, to submit to its decision. In affairs of penal law, its powers extended to British subjects; and to another class of persons, who were described as all persons directly or indirectly in the service of the Company, or any British subject, at the time of the offence."

The Judges of this tribunal exerted unscrupulously the utmost powers which they claimed in virtue of their interpretation of the statute. They issued their writs to the farthest limits of the British territory; interfering with, and superseding, the authority of the existing Courts, Civil as well as Criminal; the former vested in the Provincial Councils, the latter still exercised by the Native Sovereign. They permitted their officers, in the execution of their delegated powers, to seize the persons of the zemindars, and other native proprietors and functionaries; and, in despite of the most cherished domestic privileges and hallowed religious scruples of the people, to violate the sanctuaries of their females, and to profane the shrines of their idols. And they hesitated not to summon to their bar, as culprits, the Governor General, and his colleagues at the Council Board, who had presumed to spread the shield of their appellate jurisdiction over the inferior Courts.

Previous to this attack on the Supreme Government, the British inhabitants of Calcutta, alarmed by these encroachments of despotic power, addressed a Petition to Parliament, craving protection and redress; a document which is believed to have been the production of Mr. Shore's pen. It was followed by a similar Petition from the Governor-General and his colleagues; and another from the East-India Company itself.

Mr. Hastings compromised the differences with the Supreme Court, by the institution of a Supreme Court of Appeal in Civil matters; the Judges of which should be nominated by the Supreme Council—the Chief Justice presiding. This arrangement produced an Address of the House of Commons to the King; the recall of Sir Elijah Impey, the Chief Justice, to answer the charge of having accepted his office in violation of the Act of Parliament; and a fresh Act, regulating and limiting the jurisdiction of the Court.

"TO JAMES HUTCHINSON, ESQ.

"MY DEAR SIR— "Calcutta in Bengal, March 1, 1780.

. . . .

"After a long absence of near eleven years, I was nearly tempted to embark for Europe this year: but, though I had every motive which is capable of influencing the passions, prudence has obtained the victory; and, after a long struggle, I have determined to remain where I am. This climate not only affects the health, but the spirits; and it is with difficulty I am sometimes enabled to support the uneasiness at being so long separated from my family and friends.

"You will, no doubt, hear of the struggles made by the inhabitants of this Settlement against the unconstitutional jurisdiction of the Supreme Court of Judicature established in Calcutta; to which I have lent my name, and subscribed my money, from a thorough conviction, founded on the most solid grounds, that an English Court of Law established on the same principles as the Supreme Court must inevitably work the ruin of the British dominions in Asia. The executive departments of the Government are so circumscribed and impeded, that they can hardly go on; and the natives rise in insolence, as we sink in authority. The Judges exercise over all Europeans whatever power they judge fit; for in Civil actions we have no trial by jury. In short, a villain, considering the powers and dispositions of the Judges, may procure the ruin of the honestest man in the Settlement. As to the natives, they differ from us as much in manners, principles, dispositions, religion, usages, and prejudices, as in colour and climate; and by them the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court is detested. I love my country and its constitution too well to wish to live in any place where is no legal support and controul; but let it be adapted to the circumstances and situation of the Settlement. Pains will be taken to misrepresent our efforts, and perhaps to state a legal constitutional act as the beginning of an insurrection: but ignorance alone can give into such an idea; for we are not 4000 Europeans here, including those of all Denominations; and the throne of Delhi would not tempt me to reside here for life.

"I beg my respects to Mrs. Hunt, and to friend Bury; and am, with real esteem and regard,

"Your obliged and obedient humble servant."

In the following Letter, Mr. Shore takes a gloomy view of the state of affairs, and of his own immediate prospects:—

"TO BURY HUTCHINSON, ESQ.

"MY DEAR SIR— "Bengal, Nov. 23, 1780.

"You have a right to call upon me for one Letter a-year at least, if it be only to return you my annual thanks for the care you take in forwarding the Letters which I send under cover to your address:—it is a tribute which I pay with pleasure. Old friendship I esteem too valuable to be lost through neglect; and the respect and esteem which I bear you is of many years standing, and founded upon acts of kindness on your part.

"It is now twelve years since I left England—a long period to be separated from my native country, friends, and relations. Your son is, however, at Bombay still, I believe; and he has been longer absent from home than myself. As I have no cause of self-reproach to make for remaining so long here, I submit to my lot with as much patience as I can. My situation, though creditable, is not profitable; and as Mr. Francis is determined to return to Europe in this month, it is not probable it will be mended.

"You will, before this, have heard of our misfortunes on the coast. Hyder Ally destroyed, or took prisoners, a body of 4000 Sepoys or native troops, and 600 Europeans; and obliged the body of our army to shelter itself within the walls of Madras. The force employed to establish the European dominion in Hindostan was not so great as this daring adventurer has destroyed. The loss of this body of men may justly be attributed to the bad conduct of General Munro; who has, in this transaction, lost the reputation he had before acquired. The war with Hyder Ally, however, owes its origin to the politics of Bengal. Had Mr. Hastings been less ambitious; had he not volunteered in a useless, impolitic, absurd war with the Mahrattas, sending our troops across the Continent of India, and wasting resources which, with good management, would have secured us against all invaders . . . . [MS. defective] . . . . At present, it is impossible to guess the event of our manœuvres: success may attend us in the field, but the most sanguine expectations cannot form an idea that we shall be reimbursed for any part of the large sums we have so idly, so foolishly expended.

"The consequences which have arisen from this Mahratta war were, on the first proposals to enter into it, predicted by Mr. Francis, and used as an argument by him against entering into it, or prosecuting it. But his remonstrances have long since failed to have any effect; and the last he made so provoked the Governor, that he answered it by the most insulting language, personally addressed to Mr. Francis, and meant avowedly as a personal affront. This produced a duel between them, in which Mr. Francis was dangerously wounded; although he has been so lucky as to recover, without any injury to his constitution. We regret the loss of his abilities, which, with proper support, might have saved the sinking affairs of the Company.

"There is no immediate danger, I believe, of Bengal becoming the seat of war. Our situation secures us. Yet this country, under the present system, must soon fall into as ruinous a condition as Madras or Bombay. Those two Settlements, unable to supply their own expenses, are a constant drain upon us. We are hourly increasing our military establishments, and we shall find it hereafter difficult to reduce them. Our Don-Quixote expeditions and unnecessary wars have taught the natives an art which should have been concealed from them as much as possible. To advantage in numbers, they add discipline; and in proportion as they acquire knowledge of war, we must be under the necessity of augmenting the number of our troops.

"This is a disagreeable picture of our situation; yet it is drawn with justice. I will venture to prophesy, that before the end of 1781 the three Settlements of Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay are burdened with a debt of above two millions sterling. Three years ago we had a surplus of unappropriated cash, in our different treasuries in Bengal, of a million sterling. Yet Mr. Hastings, the author and conductor of this Mahratta war, the source of our losses and expenses, is now in the plenitude of power.

"If neither the Ministry or Proprietors of India stock will interest themselves in the welfare of India; if they will pursue that timid unmeaning line of conduct which they have followed for some time; if they will desert their own principles and professions, and see their own orders disobeyed with impunity; they will find the golden scheme of East-Indian opulence break like a bubble before they expect it; or vanish like a dream, leaving no wrecks behind. If the late alarming events do not rouse them into activity, they must give up all hopes of long possessing their Eastern dominions. Ruin has been some time advancing by detail; and though the country still remain, it will be a barren soil, yielding no produce to the mother-country. These truths have been often foretold and repeated. Time begins to verify them.

"I will not trouble you with any more reflections, and at this time: they give me pain to write them. If my circumstances admitted it, I would return to Europe immediately.

"I am, Dear Sir, &c."

Contrary to his expectations, the very circumstances which appeared fatal to Mr. Shore's advancement in the Service mainly contributed to it; and the result justified his old friend Burgess's discernment. Mr. Hastings abolished the Provincial

Councils, and transferred the power exercised by them, together with the appellate jurisdiction of the Supreme Council, to a Board of his own creation, consisting of four members. To the first post was appointed Mr. David Anderson, a servant of the Company, distinguished for his integrity and abilities. But, anticipating the need of this gentleman's services on special missions, Mr. Hastings consulted him on filling the second place at the Board, which would require qualifications not inferior to his own. Mr. Anderson at once recommended Mr. Shore, as, in his opinion, better fitted for the post than any other member of the Service. The Governor-General expressed astonishment at the mention of an individual whom he regarded as one of his most zealous opponents; for Mr. Shore's financial reputation had induced Mr. Hastings to attribute to him a large share in the preparation of Mr. Francis's Minutes. Mr. Anderson, intimately acquainted with the character of Mr. Hastings as well as of Mr. Shore, replied in the following terms: "Appoint Mr. Shore; and in six weeks you and he will have formed a friendship."—The proposal was assented to, and the prediction fulfilled. Mr. Hastings and Mr. Shore entertained for each other a lasting regard; though the latter was fully aware of the errors of the Governor-General's administration, which he imputed to one main defect in his character—his not being an economist, either for himself or the public. These circumstances were communicated to the writer of these pages by an intimate friend of all the parties concerned; and throw light on a transaction which subjected Mr. Hastings to impeachment, on the ground of his having formed a Board consisting of his own *creatures*.

CHAPTER IV.

ACTING CHIEF OF THE BOARD OF REVENUE, TILL HIS RETURN TO ENGLAND IN 1785—SUGGESTS REFORM IN ADMINISTRATION—LITERARY PURSUITS.

Mr. Shore retained his new official situation till his return to England in 1785; presiding, with few intervals, at his Board; and frequently incurring additional responsibility, in consequence of the Governor-General's absence from Calcutta. The heavy burden of his ordinary duties was augmented by an immense accumulation of business, produced by the transfer of the Records, both Native and English, to Calcutta; whilst his labour and anxiety were aggravated by the indolence, impracticable temper, and corrupt practices of Gunga-Govind Sing, whom Mr. Hastings had inflicted as Duan on this Board, as he had on the Council which it superseded;—an individual whom Mr. Shore describes, in his correspondence with Mr. Anderson, as destitute of integrity—a dead weight on the proceedings of the Committee, who paid no attention to business, save that which involved his own immediate patronage.

To an individual actuated by scrupulous honour, and the anxious desire to discharge his important duty with the utmost efficiency, the position in which Mr. Shore was now placed was peculiarly irksome and harassing. In his "Memoir on the Administration of Justice, and Collection of the Revenues," submitted to the Supreme Council in 1785, he thus adverts to the incompetency of the jurisdiction of the Board over which he presided, and to the immense power and means of mischief placed at the disposal of the Duan: — "With respect to the present Committee of Revenue, it is morally impossible for them to execute the business they are entrusted with: they are vested with a general controul, and they have an executive authority larger than ever was before given to any Board or body of men. They may, and must, get through business; but to pretend to assert that they really execute it would be folly and falsehood."

Of the native officer he thus speaks:—

"This man, in fact, in the Duan or Executive offices, has all the revenues, paid at the Presidency, at his disposal; and can, if he has any abilities, bring all Renters under contribution. It is of little advantage to restrain the Committee themselves from bribery or corruption, when their executive Officer has the power of practising both, undetected.

To display the arts employed by a native on such occasions would fill a volume. He discovers the secret resources of the Zemindars and Renters, their enemies and competitors, and, by the engines of hope and fear raised upon these foundations, he can work them to his purposes. The Committee, with the best intentions, best abilities, and steadiest application, must, after all, be a tool in the hands of their Duan*."

Besides superintending the collection of the revenues, Mr. Shore devoted two days in the week to adjudicating Exchequer causes. And as the Revenue System was throughout defective, from want of adequate agency, the President was required to neglect his own immediate duties for the purpose of directing local arrangements. He was, on one occasion, commissioned to settle the revenues of the provinces of Dacca and Behar.

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* The portion of the important document from which these extracts are taken, relating to Mr. Shore's opinion of the native character, is inserted in the Appendix (I.) Mr. Shore's objection to Gunga-Govind Sing was rather to the system under which he was employed, than to the particular individual; for he states, in his evidence on Mr. Hastings's trial, that no native was fit for the office; and that, consequently, Mr. Hastings's selection, on whomsoever it might fall, would be objectionable; and that, in fact, he had forbidden the visits of Gunga-Govind Sing's successor, on account of the badness of his character.

Mr. Hastings, who treated him uniformly with the greatest confidence, summoned him, on the eve of his departure, to receive his instructions. And they were conveyed in a brief sentence, which might have been interpreted, in conformity to practice too prevalent at that period, in a manner very different from that in which it was intended by Mr. Hastings, or received by Mr. Shore:—"You know your business, Shore; and good luck to you!"—for the settlement of the Revenue afforded to the Company's servants much scope for corruption; and some had realised vast sums, by receiving bribes from the landlords, in return for underrating their rents. In this single mission to Dacca, Mr. Shore might easily, as he stated, have added 100,000*l*. to his fortune.

The following feeling allusion to a circumstance which happened during one of his missions occurs in a Letter written many years afterwards:—

"In the end of 1783 and beginning of 1784, I was charged with a Public Commission, to regulate the affairs of Patna province, a country in extent equal to Scotland. A severe scarcity prevailed, and demanded all my exertions to check its dreadful influence; and I was happy to succeed, in some degree. One day, when I was walking in the fields, weak in body and uneasy in mind, a poor native, whose sufferings I had relieved, was proceeding in the same path; and I heard him exclaim, 'May God prolong thy life, and restore thy health, for thou hast saved the lives of the poor!' This indeed was a reward for all my exertions; and I felt the force of it with a satisfaction I would not have bartered for thousands. Often, in the hours of sickness and uneasiness, have I recollected this exclamation of gratitude."

For the despatch of business, Mr. Shore was eminently qualified, by a calm temper—a memory quick and tenacious, though somewhat impaired by a violent fit of jaundice, which for a while completely suspended its functions—a sound judgment, and early-matured habits of decision. "We are obliged," he observes, writing to Mr. Anderson on a subject of great perplexity, "in order to get through the business, to act with a decision which will be the source of error in some cases: for with us, procrastination would be the cause of more evils than even hasty decisions." Yet, of hasty decisions he was never accused, and seldom of erroneous. His conclusions were the result of anxious deliberation: and it was his practice to refer his more important Papers to the consideration of some friend, in whose judgment he confided, requesting him to state any objections which might occur to him in the perusal. His decisions, however animadverted upon, he would never review, resting their vindication on the reasons he had recorded. His affable deportment conciliated all who had official intercourse with him.

During the first five years of his Indian service, Mr. Shore's salary never exceeded 500*l.* per annum; and during the first ten he saved no part of his income. He joyfully availed himself of the opportunity which the handsome emoluments of his present office afforded him, of offering to contribute to the comfort of his beloved parent. His correspondence with his mother, during the seven years preceding the following Letter, has not been preserved.

"TO MRS. SHORE.

"MY DEAR MOTHER— "Bengal, Nov. 14, 1781.

"It is a pleasure to you to hear from me: it is no less a pleasure to me to write to you; as I always think upon the satisfaction you will have when you receive my Letter. The thirteenth year is now nearly concluded since we parted—a period I can never forget. The scene at Gravesend is still as fresh in my memory as if it had happened but yesterday only. I hear the heartfelt sighs of affection; and hasten, with reluctance, to embark on board the vessel, which perhaps is to separate us for ever. My imagination represents you, at the same time, returning to town, with eyes reverted, and wishing to detain me with you. The recollection of these circumstances is not unattended with pain: but when I think that the same affection still subsists between us—that nothing has intervened to dissolve the parental or filial regard we owe to each other—that the same Providence, which has so long protected us, may again bring us together—a dawn of hope and comfort springs up, and dissipates the melancholy occasioned by the former ideas. You are, in fact, the cause of my long absence; for if you had not tutored me to honesty—if you had paid less attention to my principles—I might before this have laid a fortune at your feet, and you might have partaken the acquisitions of dishonesty. To see me return with a fortune gained by such methods would, I know, give you more concern than pleasure; and I am confident you would rather receive me poor, than have reason to blush at my being rich.

"I am now in a fair way to gain a competency at least, by honest avowed means. Whatever I earn, is by labour, and by doing my duty; and is publicly recorded. I only regret that the opportunity did not offer sooner; and that, now it is come, I have so few opportunities of remitting my gainings to you. . . . . . I wish you would draw upon me annually for a thousand pounds sterling.

. . . .

"My labours daily increase; but as they are honest, and as they are rewarded, I do not grudge them. I consider them as the means of once more bringing us together. Whenever that happens, I shall think myself amply repaid for all I undergo.

. . . .

"I beg my love to Tom; and am, with the truest affection,

"Your ever dutiful and obedient Son."

"TO THE SAME.

"MY DEAR MOTHER— "Calcutta, June 8, 1782.

"I cannot write you a long Letter by this despatch; which I am the more sorry for, as I have so many Letters unanswered. I cannot express the pleasure those Letters have given me: the warmth of your affection for me breaks out in every line, and has not been diminished or weakened by absence. If ever son ought to entertain respect and affection for a parent, the obligation is infinitely binding upon me: and if it were possible for me to be deficient in this respect, I should have no excuse, after the innumerable instances I have experienced of your affection. It is highly satisfactory and pleasing to me to find that you have so good an opinion of me, and that you entertain so strong an idea of my regard for you. Whatever follies or negligence I may have committed, disregard for you cannot be included in the number, as I am not sensible of any deviation in the uniformity of my attachment to you. I only regret that fortune has not yet enabled me to give you more convincing proofs of this attachment than any I have been able to offer yet, and that my absence from my native country deprives me of the happiness of assisting in all those little offices of personal affection which now devolve upon my brother.

. . . .

"I consider myself and property as belonging to you, and should be ashamed to say I had any property which you were not at liberty to make use of. Take the whole, or part, in welcome; and believe me, my dear Mother, I should feel more real happiness in the conviction that I had contributed to your ease or convenience, than by having thousands laid up for my own use. You have a natural right to all I have; and if this natural right did not subsist, you have acquired it by repeated acts of generosity and affection to me.

. . . .

"Your truly dutiful and affectionate Son."

TO THE SAME.

"MY DEAR MOTHER— "Bengal, Nov. 15, 1782.

. . . .

"I have just received a Letter from you, mentioning the death of Mrs. Edgell, the last of all my Milton-place friends. If ever I return to that spot, the memory of the kindness which I experienced from the individuals of that family will cost me tears. Many circumstances now occur which render the remembrance dear to me. The gradual loss of my old friends renews my anxiety for re-visiting my native soil. I begin to be apprehensive none will be left to me when I return; and that I shall be a solitary being, without connections. Yet I do not wish to enter into an extensive circle of acquaintance; but could be content with a few friends only; and prefer the calm walk of life, where I may follow my own amusements and inclinations, without the noise and fatigue which is unavoidable in the busy world. If you were to see me here, you would witness what you never could imagine. At this instant I have a levee greater than that of any Prime Minister in Europe, and all the attendants are ready to flatter and deceive me. These are, Natives—two-thirds of the proprietors of the land in Bengal: and as the Renters of it form the crowd, and attend my nod, I cannot stir, but twenty, and sometimes five times that number of petitioners, are presented to me. Do not suppose I mention this from vanity. All who know me will allow that this is a scene of life in which I have no pleasure—that I am happy only in the hours of retirement, or in the society of my friends—that I despise the pomp of State, and avoid it. Of the hundreds that now court me, not one would approach my doors if I were to lose my place. Happy should I be to retire on the income of 10,000*l.*; and leave the idle and vain to enjoy the situation I hold—so agreeable to them, so tiresome to myself. Provinces are now at my command; yet I want but a few acres to give me the comforts of life, until a few feet become my estate.

"Such are my sentiments and my hopes.—Whether I should be contented to stay here till the latter are realised, I know not. I have learnt, however, not to embarrass myself with fears for the future; as I am but too sensible of the maxim, that 'sufficient for the day is the evil thereof.'

"That you may enjoy all the happiness this life is capable of, is the sincere wish of

"Your truly dutiful and affectionate Son.

"My love to Tom."

Mrs. Shore was much affected by her son's generosity, but was happily in circumstances which precluded the necessity of her availing herself of it. Of her Letters, three only have been preserved: from one of which may be taken an extract, illustrative of her affection for her son, and of her estimation of his character.

MRS. SHORE TO J. SHORE, ESQ.

"No. 2, Golden Square, St. James's, Westminster,
June 11, 1783.

"MY DEAR SON—

. . . .

"I am sorry you should have been under any apprehensions of my being put to inconvenience for want of the money. I do assure you, that has not happened; but the great distance between us must keep us long in suspense before we learn any account of each other; and doubtless, during the war, we have missed receiving some of each other's Letters; and this supposition is one reason of the many repetitions in mine. . . . . . How earnestly do I wish I could exchange the pleasure of writing to that of conversing with you! When, or if ever I shall enjoy that happiness, is unknown to me: but I still live in hopes; though, at the same time, with resignation to the divine will of my Creator.

"I have in more than one Letter acknowledged your kind offer to me of the money you have remitted. Your repeated offers in your Letters by the 'Lively' again fill my heart with tenderness, that constantly overflows with affection towards my dear son. But I do assure you I do not want any thing at present, but your society, and, could it be purchased—to which I am convinced you would gladly contribute—rather better health: but *that* I have little reason to expect at my time of life, as I have been so many years a valetudinarian; yet hope to hold out until you come home.

"To make you easy, I promise, that if any thing unforeseen should occasion my want of a little money, I will accept of your kind offer; though it would be with reluctance, but with the hopes of paying it again. . . . . . .

"In February last, I had the joy of receiving yours of April 1782, which I think I have acknowledged. In that Letter, you give me greater hopes of my seeing you sooner than in that of last November;—for I find you are not so rich as I imagined. You make no mention of your health; and by the style of your Letters, I apprehend your spirits were low when you wrote them.

. . . .

"As your brother has not a living yet, and it may be years before he is lucky enough to get one, it would give me pleasure to add to the income of his fellowship. But, to convince you of his filial affection, though the presents I hope to make him will be very acceptable, yet I have reason to believe he would rather go without them than that I should not be agreeably situated.

"How thankful I am to Providence, in being blessed as I am! Some parents there are, that, of many children, not one is dutiful. I have but two; and they are my greatest comfort: and I constantly pray to God to continue his blessing and grace to you both.

. . . .

"God bless you, my dear son! That health and happiness may attend you, wherever you are, is the wish of your affectionate Mother."

"TO MRS. SHORE.

"MY DEAR MOTHER— "Calcutta, March 26, 1783.

. . . .

"Every hour I stay in this country, my situation becomes more irksome: and so far for contracting a fondness for a country where I have spent so many years of my life, my wishes for leaving it become more sanguine. The knowledge, such as it is, which I have acquired of the people, their customs, and manners, does not make me like them the better. The disgust may possibly exist without reason, and may arise from the languor of my constitution.

"Mr. Francis has, I find, retired from all concern in the politics of India. I should not suppose that his principles would be supple enough for the system in England. As far as I can judge of his conduct in Bengal, he conducted himself in all public business with honour and integrity; nor has calumny been able to fix an imputation of dishonesty on his name. To me, personally, it is of little concern whether he continue to concern himself with Indian affairs or not; for no change of administration here could better my situation. My emoluments are avowed, authorised, and liberal, and such as might, in time, make my fortune; and I wait with as much patience as I can, till that time arrives. I find he has been both an author in, and subject of, a literary war. Since the papers you sent me, published by Captain Joseph Price—who, by the way, I was on very friendly terms with—I have seen an extract of a pamphlet written by Mr. Mackintosh, and of a reply by Mr. Price; in both which my name is mentioned. The former does me the honour to affirm, that I have acquired considerable knowledge in matters relating to Revenue. The latter, who detests Mr. Mackintosh, seems half disposed to be angry with me, for being the unmerited subject of Mr. Mackintosh's commendation; and gives me credit for compiling the Minutes of Council, written by Mr. Francis. There is nothing to my discredit said by either of them; but if any of these violent gentlemen, who amuse themselves with the name of friends and foes, and often with equal truth and reason, should chance to throw out a reflection not very honourable to my character, I hope you will not suffer it to give you a moment's uneasiness; as I do not doubt but you will find as little can be said with truth against me, as against most who have resided so long in Bengal—and that my name shall never be a reproach to you.

. . . .

"I am, my dear Mother,
"Your very affectionate and dutiful Son."

"TO DAVID ANDERSON, ESQ.

"DEAR ANDERSON— "Patna, October 22, 1783.

. . . .

"As to myself, the prospect of succeeding you gives me no pleasure; for the office to me has no *agrémens* at all: and though I cannot, upon the whole, complain of my health, which is now perfectly good, I have lost all spirits, and half my understanding at least; and would be happy to relinquish a post which is too much for my abilities and health. But I shall keep it as long as the Governor pleases: indeed, he has the fullest right to command my services, both from his original nomination of me, and from the personal confidence with which he has treated me on all occasions. His own situation is still precarious; nor do I believe he or any man can guess at the event. Every idea of removing him in a disgraceful manner seems lost; and, from what I can learn, he will, if recalled, return in a manner agreeable to himself. He appears perfectly indifferent about it. I think his stay will not be very long.

"We have the prospect of famine here; but my opinion is, that the scarcity is more artificial than real. It is an unfavourable time for settlements. I do not, however, despair of getting through my business decently.

"Yours affectionately."

In 1784, Mr. Shore received intelligence of his mother's death, whilst he was yet mourning the loss of his cousin and only relative in India, Augustus Cleveland. This gentleman, Collector of the Revenues and Magistrate of Boglipoor, died in his 29th year, the victim of his extraordinary and successful exertions in reclaiming and civilizing the savage population of the district committed to his charge*.

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* Mr. Cleveland's remarkable merits were fully appreciated by the Governor-General in Council, who directed a monument to be erected

Between Mr. Shore and his relative the warmest affection subsisted. In proof of it, may be mentioned the expedient to which the former had

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erected to his memory: and the principal Natives who had been subject to his controul obtained permission to testify their sense of his beneficence by a similar tribute. Bishop Heber, who visited the scene of his exertions, thus alludes to them, in his Journal:—

"The people of these mountains, and of all the Hilly country between this place and Burdwan, are a race distinct from those of the Plain, in features, language, civilization, and religion. They have no castes, care nothing for the Hindoo deities, and are even said to have no idols. They are still more naked than the Hindoo peasants; and live chiefly by the chase, for which they are provided with bows and arrows, few of them having fire-arms. Their villages are very small and wretched; but they pay no taxes, and live under their own Chiefs, under British protection. A deadly feud existed, till within the last forty years, between them and the cultivators of the neighbouring lowlands; they being untamed thieves and murderers, continually making forays; and the Mahomedan Zemindars killing them like mad dogs or tigers, whenever they got them within gun-shot. An excellent young man, of the name of Cleveland, Judge and Magistrate of Boglipoor, undertook to remedy this state of things. He rigorously forbade, and promptly punished, all violence from the Zemindars, who were often the aggressors against the Puharree Mountaineers. He got some of these last to enter his service; and took pains to attach them to him, and to learn their language. He made shooting-parties into the mountains, treating kindly all whom he could get to approach him; and established regular bazaars at the villages nearest to them, where he encouraged them to bring down, for sale, game, millet, wax, hides, and honey, all which their hills produce in great abundance. He gave them wheat and barley for seed; and encouraged their cultivation by the assurance that they should not recourse, to reclaim Cleveland from the only dissipation he indulged—the love of play—by asking him what would be his feelings, if prevented by losses from assisting himself, should ill-health

not be taxed, and that nobody but their own Chiefs should be their Zemindars. And, to please them still further, and at the same time to keep them in effectual order, and to bring them more into contact with their civilized neighbours, he raised a corps of Sepoys from among them, which he stationed at Sicligully; and which enabled him not only to protect the peaceable part of them, but to quell any disturbances which might arise, with a body of troops accustomed to mountain warfare. This good and wise man died in 1784, in the 29th year of his age. A monument was raised to his memory, near Boglipoor, at the joint expense of the Highland Chiefs and Lowland Zemindars, which still remains in good repair, having been endowed by them with some lands for its maintenance." (Vol. I. p.195.)

"It is an instance of Cleveland's sound judgment and discrimination, that he named for their first Native Commandant, in opposition to the remonstrances and entreaties of all the Zemindars of the place, a Chief named Zourah; or perhaps, more strictly speaking, the Roderick Dhu, of the Rajmahils, the most popular of all others amongst his countrymen, and the most dreaded by the Lowlanders. The choice was fully justified by the event; Zourah having remained through life a bold, active, and faithful servant of the Company, in different enterprises against outlaws, both in the Ramghu Hills and in his own mountains." (Ibid. p. 206.)

"Bishop Heber found that the Natives continued to assemble around the monument in considerable numbers, and have a handsome "Poojah," or religious spectacle, in honour of Cleveland's memory. Many of this excellent man's arrangements had been discontinued after his death. The Marquis of Hastings, with laudable zeal, re-established a school which he had formed for the instruction of the Natives, and revived the corps." (Ibid.)

require his return to England. Cleveland was much affected by the appeal, and, as his cousin believed, never afterwards gratified his dangerous propensity. Mr. Shore composed a monody on his death, which was printed, but not published. (See Appendix II.)

"TO DAVID ANDERSON, ESQ.

"MY DEAR ANDERSON— "Chitpore, Oct. 2, 1784.

. . . .

"I send you a Letter for the Governor; with some lines in it, to the Memory of Cleveland. You may give them to the Governor, at a fit opportunity; or reserve them till he is at Boglipoor, on his return. Pray do not let any copies be taken of them, whilst you have them. Bad as they are, I trust the Governor has been bored with worse in his time; and I would rather they should be thought to shew my feelings than to contain good poetry. I send them because I think they will please all who remember Cleveland's virtues."

. . . .

"FROM THE REV. THOMAS SHORE TO J. SHORE, ESQ.

"MY DEAR BROTHER— "Dec. 23, 1783.

"The unwelcome news I sent you in my last could not fail of filling you with grief. The loss of a parent whom you always tenderly loved—whose declining age you had cherished the pleasing idea of supporting—must afflict you, I doubt not, inexpressibly. I hope the shock has not affected your health, and that you are now reconciled to the will of the Almighty. For my own part, I must confess I feel almost in a new world. My views and prospects are all changed. Before, I entered on no plan but I first considered how it would affect my mother, when I could see her—how assist her. Now, I may range all the world over, and do whatever I please, without a tender mother to advise—without a kind mother to smile upon my actions. Independence is the general wish; but independence of this kind is by no means the most agreeable possession. But we are not the only sufferers by her death. She was not only a kind parent, but a kind friend.

. . . .

"Whether this melancholy event will prolong or shorten your stay in India, I know not; but suppose, as you have constantly and uniformly detested that country, this small acquisition of fortune may determine you to come home. This, with what you have acquired in India, may probably enable you to live in England according to your moderate wishes, though not in proportion to the trouble and difficulty you had in acquiring it. I have only to add, that your return would give me the most heartfelt pleasure: but whether you come sooner or later, I shall always remain

"Your sincere friend and affectionate Brother."

"TO THE REV. T. W. SHORE.

"MY DEAR BROTHER— "Bengal, Nov. 28, 1784.

"Time has now moderated the edge of affliction for the loss of the best of parents, though years must elapse before regret will be worn away. As long as memory continues, sorrow will be felt; and how is it possible to erase from the mind the recollection of a parent whose tenderness and affections had no bounds, and whose indulgence was hardly restrained by her good sense and prudence! I went, in March last, to Chittagong; and upon my return, in July, I was preparing a Letter for her, whom I shall never see more. What was it that suggested to my mind that my employment was useless, and made me lay down my pen in the midst of an unfinished sheet? What was it that made me forebode I was writing to one who was gone for ever from me? Yet such was the case; and the gloomy wax confirmed what my mind too anxiously presaged. I opened your Letters with an agitation never felt before; and the perusal of them told me no more than what I had foreboded.

"The situation of my health, from January to June, was such as made me anxious to return to England; and I too fondly pleased myself with the hopes of comforting a mother whose affection to me had ever been invariable. I had figured to myself ten thousand little occurrences, where delight was to predominate over past anxiety, and which would excite the smile of joy in the face of a beloved parent. How are all these ideas vanished, and no traces of them left! My illness before was more owing to the loss of my friend Cleveland than to any other cause. I had scare recovered from that shock, when a severer came upon me. Human happiness depends upon too many contingencies, and time in a moment saps the weak foundation on which delight is built*.

. . . .

"All the sorrow I felt for Cleveland, who was the friend of my heart, was revived with double violence; and this misfortune has now left me without hope or expectation. But who is it I weep for? Not for my mother; for she is blest: her pure spirit, borne beyond the wants and cares of humanity, looks down, I trust, from the midst of bliss, upon her son, struggling with toils that she is released from. It is for myself that my tears stream. I lament a friend, an adviser, a parent. I lament the loss of those joys I shall never have more: I weep over my own misfortunes. Alas, my dear Tom! we have lost what we shall never more recover; and I shall be unhappy until I can pour forth, at the tomb of the best of parents, the tears of sorrow and affection—the tribute of filial gratitude and love.

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* Quotation from the Jôg Bashust. (See sequel.)

"But let us ever suppose she is still living: let our conduct be regulated by that idea; and let the mutual affection subsisting between us, which would have rejoiced her heart when living, still subsist, as if she could now participate the joys of it. If I had been in England when this event happened, I should have sunk under it; nor would the mournful pleasure of soothing the last hours of a beloved parent have alleviated the severity of the shock. But I have done;—and when I again take up my pen, I shall, if possible, avoid what is too powerful for my feelings.

. . . .

"I thank you for the melancholy but dear pledge of affection you sent me—I mean the ring. I have constantly worn it, and ever shall. The hair was a little soiled, and the ring too large; but I have had both altered. A tear forces its way, whilst I look upon the characters. Memory retraces the path of anguish.

"May God protect and preserve you! and may the affection between us long prove the source of mutual joy!

"I am, My dear brother, your sincere friend
and affectionate Brother."

Mr. Shore testified his sense of the confidence and regard with which Mr. Hastings had uniformly treated him, not only by his determination to give the Governor-General the benefit of his services whilst his health permitted, but by means yet more indicative of the sincerity of his friendship. Through the medium of Mr. Anderson and of Mr. (afterwards Sir John) Macpherson—as he was not himself entitled, by his position in the Service, to address such counsel to the Governor-General in person—he represented to Mr. Hastings the main defect of his administration, to which allusion has been already made; warned him of the defenceless condition in which he would be placed, when exposed to the shafts of public censure, whilst no longer protected by the shield of power; pointed out the necessity of reform; and expressed his own readiness to undertake it, under the Governor-General's superintendence.

"TO D. ANDERSON, ESQ.

"DEAR ANDERSON— "Calcutta, Sept. 17, 1784.

. . . .

"From what I hear of the state of party and politics in England, and from what I see and feel here, I have been led into some reflections, which I shall communicate to you. They have for their object, the Governor's reputation, and the public good: and as you are equally anxious for the same objects, you may have it in your power to speak to him.

"It is very evident, that without some very material reform in the article of the expenses of this Government, bankruptcy must ensue. The fact is clear, notwithstanding the evidence of any estimates to the contrary. In England, you will find that this reduction is expected; and many of the public arguments in its favour turn upon this point. Now, should he leave the country without effecting it, what will the consequences be? His successor, whoever he may be, will not have the knowledge he possesses, and of course be less able for this task. Bankruptcy will ensue; and the whole will be imputed to him. Friends he will always have; but when he is a private gentleman in England, he will want that general support he now meets with. If some give it to his merit, others give it with a view to his patronage; and you well know, that, in the struggles and collision of parties, merit without support will be but a weak bulwark against public attacks, particularly when these are founded on distress. Besides, it will be the interest of all parties to throw it from their own shoulders upon his; and many, whom he is no longer able to serve, will oppose him.

"The task of reform is disagreeable; but where necessity renders it unavoidable—where it takes place generally, and without partiality—all honest and good men will admit it. Suppose it will run counter to public Regulations;—the reply is clear, that Regulations, however proper, must give way to public necessity, and individuals must submit to it also. The Governor will, I think, for many substantial reasons, find it impossible to embark this year. I forbear to specify them, as they would reflect upon others: and in this instance he will have time to establish such a plan of reform, as would restore every thing in three or four years to a good footing. The labour of the detail should be left to you, to me, and others; and nothing would be wanting from him, but general heads and instructions, and a determination to adhere to his plan. What man, who is really a friend to the Governor, and has public good in view, would murmur at such an act? The objects must silence them. We are now embarrassed, but not desperate; and there is no doubt but care would establish every thing. If Mr. H. will form the plan, he exonerates himself from all responsibility. Let others infringe upon it, if they choose: the responsibility is then shifted to them. I trouble you only with outlines, as you will see the whole. I think, one way or other, the savings of fifty lacs per annum might be made. It would be a great deal;—and not a little, to stop even the increase of expense.

"Yours very affectionately."

The reflections communicated by Mr. Shore to Mr. Macpherson were coupled with the request that he would impart the substance of them to Mr. Hastings in the mildest terms. Mr. Macpherson, whether through forgetfulness, or more culpable remissness, inserted them, as a Minute, on the Records of the Supreme Council; a breach of confidence which—as Mr. Macpherson, being Senior Member of the Council, was destined to succeed Mr. Hastings in the Government—left Mr. Shore, in his own opinion, no alternative, but to resign his post on the occurrence of that event.

Besides the counsel which Mr. Shore tendered to the Governor-General on the subject of reform, he embodied, in a document already referred to—"The Memoir" &c.—the result of his practical knowledge of the topics to which it refers. His suggestions on the Administration of Justice, afterwards partly adopted, embrace the substitution of liberal salaries for the irregular and inadequate mode of payment by which the services of the Judges had been hitherto remunerated—an amendment subsequently introduced by Lord Cornwallis; whilst, in his reflections on the Collection of the Revenues, he sketches the plan of an arrangement with the Zemindars, which constituted the groundwork of the Permanent Settlement.

Amidst the harassing fatigues of public business, Mr. Shore did not neglect his literary pursuits, and, at the request of the Rev. Dr. Ford, Professor of Arabic in the University of Oxford, represented to him the state and progress of Oriental studies in India at the period just preceding that to which his Memoir of the Life of Sir W. Jones introduces the reader. Dr. Ford—for whose correspondence he was indebted to his brother, who now resided on a Fellowship at Oxford—had, in his Letter soliciting this information, gratified him by announcing to him the brilliant success of Mr. Jones in the same department of Literature.

"TO THE REV. MR. PROFESSOR FORD.

"SIR— "Calcutta, Sept. 17, 1783.

"I have the pleasure to acknowledge the receipt of your Letter of the 21st of December 1782, which reached me yesterday only; and I embrace with great satisfaction this opportunity of commencing a correspondence with you on the subject of Oriental Literature. Happy should I be if the variety of my avocations in this country, and the state of my health, which has ever been infirm since my arrival in Bengal, admitted a greater application on my part to an object which has long engaged my attention. But it is in vain to regret what cannot be obviated; and I shall, from the little stock I possess, communicate, without ceremony or reserve, such information, in answer to your general queries, as I can give.

"Bengal cannot boast many proficients in Eastern Literature, either amongst the Natives or the Europeans. The former, in general, are ignorant and illiterate, and want that emulation which is the spur to excellence; though they are not deficient in displaying the acquisitions they make, and in assuming to themselves a degree of merit far superior to their deserts. Those amongst them who study Professionally, with a view to obtain appointments under the Government, in the Law department, have no pretence to the title of universal scholars; nor is it easy for them to obtain it, for want of a sufficient number of Arabic books. Grammar, Logic, Law, Philosophical Dissertations, and Religious Commentaries, are the objects of their studies. Poetry, with a few exceptions, they pay little attention to; and the Learned affect to despise History. Amongst the variety of Arabic authors quoted or mentioned by Mr. Jones in his Commentaries, I do not, the Koran excepted, recollect one that is to be found here. Our present Governor, Mr. Hastings, founded a Madrissa, or College, in Calcutta, for one hundred scholars; and I have obtained, from one of the Under-tutors in it, a list of all the books which are read and taught there; which will explain and confirm what I have asserted.

"Persian authors are more read; and a great variety of them may be obtained. These are perused by the natives rather for amusement than instruction; and a man who has read a treatise of Logic in Arabic is held in higher repute than those who have perused fifty Persian Poets and Historians. Science, in short, in Bengal, stands on a very narrow basis: nor is it likely to improve, until the natives shall have changed their present sentiments regarding it. With respect to Europeans, there are few, if any, who can be deemed sound scholars. Most gentlemen arrive here at the age of sixteen. They are placed in offices where daily attendance is required, and in a climate where relaxation from study and business is indispensable, for the preservation of health. The intervals given to learning cannot be many. Local knowledge must be obtained, and cannot be had without labour and attention. The consequence is, that few prosecute their studies beyond what is absolutely necessary to enable them to transact the business in which they are engaged with credit to themselves; and this may be effected without any very laborious exertion. When this is obtained, the study of the languages becomes neglected, and the elegancies or refinements of the Persian are seldom sought after. A moderate degree of knowledge, sufficient for the perusal of Tales, without the assistance of Dictionaries or Interpreters, is not uncommon, as the style of these books is in general easy. If Mr. Jones should, as we are taught to expect, arrive in Bengal, I may venture to pronounce, that, notwithstanding the disadvantages he will labour under from the want of pronunciation, he will possess more real knowledge of the Persian and Arabic Languages than any person here, either Native or European.

"Some books have lately been published in

Bengal; but the expense of printing them is so enormous, and the reputation derived from the labours of translating so little, that few attempts more will be made. Amongst these are, The Ensha Hircarun, or "Forms of Hircarun"—a Persian, Arabic, and English Vocabulary, neither ample nor correct; and the Elements of Physic, from the Persian version of an Arabic author. I do not think any of them worthy of a voyage to England. The former may be useful here; but the original and version are equally inelegant—the latter incorrect. If I can obtain a copy of it, I will do myself the pleasure to send it to you; and I will beg the favour of you to give information to my brother of any publications in England, on subjects of Oriental Literature, that he may furnish me with them.

"I shall now reply to your queries, in the order you have stated them. The language called "Moors" has a written character, differing both from the Sanscrit or Bengalee character: it is called Nagree, which means "Writing." The Sanscrit character is named Dib Nagree, or, "The Writing of Angels." This character is little used in Bengal, but is more familiar in the province of Beyhar. I have the pleasure to send you a specimen of it. Phirdoosi is very common here, being much read and admired. I never heard of a translation of his poem into any other of the country languages.

The Anwar Soheili is very common here: there are three editions of it, which differ rather in style than matter. The Culleelao Dumna is the name of one of the editions; and I cannot recollect the other. A gentleman of my acquaintance here assures me that he has in his possession this book, or rather the original of it, in the Sanscrit. He has not compared it yet sufficiently, to determine if the Persian copies are translations, or amplifications of the original:—I suppose the latter. There are no living writers, I believe, of character now in India. One died a few years ago at Benares, of the name of Souda, who composed a Dewan in Moors; using, however, the Persian character for writing it, and the style of Hafiz:—he was admired. The Commentaries of Baber are not at present to be had in the original; which I believe was in the Tartar dialect. I have a Persian translation of them; but do not deem the work of great value. The Tales of Inatullah are very common: they are written in a very pleasing style, though rather inflated. Dow has not translated one-third of them: indeed I might affirm, he has not translated any; for the English version is too vague to be called a translation. I compared part of them some years ago, and endeavoured to make use of the translation for my own advantage, but without success. His character as a Persian scholar was far from being high in Bengal; and I should suppose that he took the substance of the original as read and explained to him by his Moonshee or Interpreter, and published it as a translation. His version of Ferishta is more correct, and in some parts exact. The Arabian Nights are not to be met with here. I have seen and possess several of the Tales in Persian, either translated or imitated from the original. I never heard of any Persian version of the Moallacat, or of the Mocamah of Hariri; nor are the originals known in Bengal. Hadley's knowledge of the theory of the languages spoken here was small; yet his observation, that the Persian is spoken with tolerable purity, is just. Hafiz, Saadi, or Cachifi, would not find the least difficulty in conversing with those who speak Persian here, particularly on general topics. I have often talked with persons lately arrived from Ispahan; and their idioms appeared more remote from the purity of Saadi than the Persian, as spoken in Bengal. Saadi is an author most universally read here, particularly his Gulistan and Bostan; and the language of conversation here is derived from books.

"Mr. Wilkins, whose name is mentioned in the Preface to Halhed's Bengal Grammar, is the only European acquainted with the Sanscrit; and he has made some progress in translating a Hindoo book, called the Mhabharit. It contains history, fable, and religious and moral instructions. He might, in my opinion, have made a better choice.

"Two assertions have been propagated in Europe —that the Hindoos will not explain their tenets; and that the Mahomedans, from their contempt of idolatry, have taken no pains to investigate the Hindoo religion. I differ from both. It is true that the Brahmins, in general, will not read the Bedes to Europeans—(the Bedes are supposed to have been written by Birmha, at the inspiration of the Deity or Birmh) — but they will communicate the purport of them. The fact is, that the Brahmins are, in general, very ignorant, and conceal their want of knowledge under the cloak of religious prohibition: and another reason is, that many absurdities must be attended to before truth can be developed; and Europeans are too apt to ridicule what appears absurd, or what they do not understand, and to treat their instructor less politely than they ought. Communication is thus effectually barred. I have in my possession Persian translations of many valuable Sanscrit books on Religion and Morality; and these were acquired within these six months only. A Brahmin is also ready to attend me whenever I want him; and from him I find I can depend on my Persian versions. He is himself compiling, or rather superintending, the translation of a book already compiled by himself in the Sanscrit; and of the Persian translation I am to have a copy. The Hindoo religion, as generally practised, is Idolatry: and is not the Roman-Catholic the same? Middleton's observations at Rome sufficiently prove it, I think. But, in fact, it is pure Deism, and has a wonderful resemblance to the doctrines of Plato. I doubt if any of his writings are more metaphysically abstract than some of the Hindoos. The information you have on this point in Europe is, for the most part, false. The account given by Dow, in his Preface to Ferishta, though too concise, agrees generally with the information I have received. My studies are now directed to this object; and the further I advance, the more I admire: but I want both leisure and health for the task.

"I have answered the favour of your Letter in great haste, and have sufficiently trespassed upon your patience, as well as my own time. You will excuse inaccuracies; and believe me, with great esteem,

"Your most obedient humble servant.

"P.S. I cannot despatch this address without adding a Postscript.—The Institutes of Akbar, or the Ayeen Akbary, have been translated. The first volume is in the press here, and will be ready to go by this packet. It contains many curious circumstances: and an octavo volume might have been extracted from it, that would have furnished amusement; but the whole will be Persian to half the world. It furnishes a proof of the wisdom of Akbar, and his Prime Minister, Abul Fazl. The translation will occupy three quarto volumes, the last of which relates to the Hindoos. It is performed by the same gentleman who published a very indifferent specimen of it three years ago, Mr. Gladwyn. I have not yet seen the Institutes of Timour, nor the Tract on the Law of Inheritance: not three copies of either are yet arrived. I wish the original of it were published: it is a most excellent Dictionary. The text contains Arabic Radicals only, with the directions under each: the comment is, for the most part, in Persian. We want also an edition of the Camoos, mentioned by Pococke, in his Preface to the Camun Tigrai. With respect to the Jowhery, I have some thoughts of having a copy made here, in a form fit for the press: it would not cost me 60*l.* to have it copied, collated, and revised in the best manner, without trouble on my part. Many years will not, I hope, elapse before I have the pleasure of seeing you in England: and I should be happy indeed to meet with an admirer and master of Oriental Literature."

The above Letter had been written but few weeks, when the industrious labours of the few votaries of Oriental Literature, of whom India could now boast, were cheered by the full blaze of that Luminary, whose dawning radiance had as yet gleamed dimly and remotely on their path. Mr. Jones arrived in India at the close of 1773. Next year, the Asiatic Society was founded, and Mr. Jones became its first President;—Mr. Hastings having, with good taste, declined the chair in his favour.

The effect of the concentration of the efforts of Students—who, notwithstanding the enlightened patronage of Mr. Hastings, had as yet found no rallying point—was, under the auspices of such a Leader, immediately perceptible. Mr. Halhed had previously contributed valuable aid to the prosecution of Oriental studies: and Mr. Wilkins completed in this year, in the hallowed precincts of Benares—whither he had retired, by Mr. Hastings's permission, for the purpose—his celebrated Translation from the Sanscrit of the Bhagvat Geeta; a work which Mr. Hastings describes, in an eloquent Preface to it, as a very curious specimen of the Literature, Mythology, and Morality of the Ancient Hindoos.

Mr. Shore meanwhile prepared Translations from Persian Versions of Hindoo Works, with the intention, which his return to England defeated, of comparing them with the original Sanscrit. In 1784, he translated, in three MS. volumes, the Persian version of an Abridgment of the Jôg Bashust, or "Instructions of Bashust," composed, like its original, in Sanscrit. This work is supposed to contain the doctrines delivered by Birmha, the Revealer of the Bedes, or the only existing original Scriptures of the religion of Birmha to his son Bashust. It consists of an eloquent exposition, replete with Oriental imagery, of the sublime but cold metaphysical theology, apathetic piety, and ascetic morals of the Vedanti School of Brahminical Hindooism. The redundancy of sentiment in this treatise must have rendered such an undertaking irksome to any one endowed with less enthusiasm and perseverance than its Translator; whilst the gloomy tenor of its reflections, harmonizing with his then saddened feelings, may be traced in his correspondence.

In troubles which had weighed heavily on his spirits, Mr. Shore had as yet experienced, in a degree far less than he afterwards realised, the consolations of the Christian Religion. He had been indeed fully impressed with a belief of its truths; and had ever felt so deep a sense of the Majesty of the Supreme Being, that he could not tolerate the profanation of God's holy name; and had endeavoured to impart to others his own convictions. His acquaintance with his most-valued friend, Mr. Charles Grant, which commenced in 1774, resulted from the reputation he had already acquired of a regard to Religion. Mr. Grant had, under a domestic affliction, applied to him, through a friend, for books capable of affording him religious consolation: and to this occasion Mr. Shore was wont to trace his friend's earliest religious impressions.

The state of Mr. Shore's health, shaken by the recurrence of his severe bilious disorders, would, independently of other circumstances, have rendered necessary his return to England. So much had he suffered from want of sleep, that he could not recollect, during this, or indeed during any period of his residence in India, having closed his eyes during two consecutive hours. Sometimes he would woo the rest which forsook his couch, by passing part of the night in journeying on the road in his palanquin; but usually he devoted his sleepless hours to books, and perused much more by night than by day.

He attributed the preservation of his life to the practice—from which he never deviated, unless prevented by illness—of mounting his horse at day-break, and riding many miles; an exercise in which he excelled. His health was benefitted by his retiring ordinarily, after the business of the day, to his country-house; a mansion for which he paid 1200*l.* rental to Mahomed Reza Khân—double the sum which he considered sufficient for his wants in England: and he amused himself in improving the Nabob's grounds, and enjoying the recreation of music. Shooting was one of his favourite diversions; till, on the occasion of his having killed a buck by a distant shot, he laid aside his gun, observing,

> "Hîc victor cestus artemque repono."

Nor did he relinquish, during his first residence in India, his Harrovian taste for cricket, being an active member of the Calcutta Cricket Club.

Mr. Shore's conduct in his various employments had now established his reputation. The Supreme Government, in a public Letter adverting to the services of himself and his friends, David Anderson and Nathaniel Halhed, express "their regret that the Government should at one time lose three as able men in their respective lines as have at any time been employed in the Company's, or indeed any Public Service." Additional and special testimony is borne to the meritorious services of Mr. Anderson and of Mr. Shore in the Revenue Department.

Mr. Shore thus writes, in contemplation of his return to England:—

"TO BURY HUTCHINSON, ESQ.

"DEAR SIR— "December 28, 1784.

. . . .

"I begin to look toward England. You know how moderate my fortune is; but I have neither avarice nor ambition. I have long held a situation where, if I had been half the knave every one is supposed by the patriots of England to be, I might have secured 40,000*l.* or 50,000*l.* per annum, for the last four years. Believe me, I have never repented I have not done it; and more happy in the savings of my salary, which is avowed, than I should be in ten times the amount acquired by means I dare not avow. And unless I am compelled, by ill health, to return home sooner than I propose, the modicum I possess, with the small addition I may acquire in the interval, will be sufficient for my happiness. If I had more, I should then have a satisfaction I may want—that of assisting others more liberally than I shall now be able to do.

. . . .

"Your affectionate friend,
"and obedient humble servant."

Mr. Shore sailed soon afterwards for England, in company with his friends, Mr. Anderson and

Mr. Hastings; the latter of whom he describes "a delightful companion, pouring forth the stores of his cultivated mind."

It was during this voyage that Mr. Hastings composed and dedicated to his friend his well-known Paraphrase of an Ode of Horace.

CHAPTER V.

ARRIVAL IN ENGLAND — MARRIAGE — APPOINTED MEMBER OF THE SUPREME COUNCIL AT FORTWILLIAM — MR. PITT'S ACT FOR THE REGULATION OF INDIAN AFFAIRS—SAILS FOR INDIA—STRICTURES ON MR. MACPHERSON'S ADMINISTRATION — EARL CORNWALLIS ASSUMES THE REINS OF GOVERNMENT.

It was with melancholy feelings that Mr. Shore landed, in June 1785, almost a stranger on his native soil. His only relative was a brother, whom he left in childhood: and few of the friends of his youth survived, to welcome him. He found a cordial reception, and passed several weeks at the house of his old and valued friend, Mr. Stanley, in Hatton Garden, where he resided with his sister, Mrs. Arlond. This gentleman was the well-known performer; whose celebrity was the more remarkable, as he had been blind from his infancy. His private worth corresponded with his professional reputation; and his hospitable house was much resorted to by his more eminent musical brethren, as well as by literary men, attracted by his conversation, and the amateur concerts, in which he took delight. Mr. Stanley and his sister were connected with the subject of this Memoir by marriage; and were additionally endeared to him by their assiduous attention to his mother during her dying hours. In London, Mr. Shore retained his early Indian habits. He never rested more than five, or slept more than four hours; and invariably walked over Westminster and Blackfriars' bridges before breakfast.

But an unexpected visit to his brother, in Devonshire, in November, suddenly brightened his domestic prospects. Mr. Thomas Shore resided at this time at Duryard near Exeter, at the house of his father-in-law, W. Mackworth Praed, Esq., of Bitton, Teignmouth, whose daughter he had lately married. Here he was received by a young lady of great personal attractions, whom a snow-storm had detained at the house; his brother and sister being absent;—and in a single interview, his affections became so much engaged, that he sought fresh opportunities of cultivating her acquaintance; and in the February following she became his wife.—Mrs. Shore was the only daughter of a widow lady, named Cornish, of the old and respectable Devonshire family of Floyer*, whose husband had held the situation of Collector of the Customs at Teignmouth; a gentleman much respected in that place and in its neighbourhood. Thus originated an union, cemented by an entire accordance of sentiment and principle, which, during forty-eight years, produced as much domestic happiness as could perhaps be realised in this present chequered state of existence.

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* The Floyers are the representatives, by the female line, of John, father of Nicholas Wadham, Founder of Wadham College, the latter leaving no children; and, through John Wadham, are sprung, by regular or irregular descent, from several Kings of England and France, and the last British Earl of Cornwall. The pedigree has been repeatedly published.

But a fortnight had scarcely elapsed from the period of Mr. Shore's marriage, when his honey-moon, passed at Peamore near Exeter, the residence of a friend of his bride, was interrupted by a startling summons to the field of toilsome and hazardous exertion, which he had quitted, as he supposed, for ever. Apprehension of such a contingency had induced him, whilst in London, to shun as much as possible the society of East-Indians, and every circumstance likely to renew his connection with India. His merits were, however, too highly appreciated by the Court of Directors, and especially by his principal and influential friends in that body —Mr. (afterwards Sir Francis) Baring, Mr. (afterwards Sir Hugh) Inglis, and Mr. (afterwards Sir William) Bensley—to be overlooked.

The critical state of India having attracted the attention of Parliament in 1784, Mr. Pitt's Act for the Regulation of Indian Affairs was passed—a measure framed to rectify the acknowledged deficiency of power in the governing bodies invested with the direction of them, both at home and in that country, and to prescribe definite rules for the guidance of their policy towards the Native States*.

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* By this enactment, a Board of Controul was instituted, empowered to superintend, and, if necessary, to overrule, the Ministerial functions of the East-India Company, but precluded from interfering with its patronage. The Sovereign was entitled to recall from India the Governor-General, or any other Officer of the Company. Order and regularity, in the administration of affairs, were enforced by the concentration and enlargement of the powers of the Supreme Government in India; which was now to consist of a Governor-General and three Councillors; the Commander-in-Chief having a voice next after the Governor-General; whilst the Governor-General received the casting vote in Council, and, by a subsequent amendment of the Act in 1786, the important privilege of assuming, on an emergency, the responsibility of acting in opposition to his Council. The Government at each of the subordinate Presidencies was constructed on a similar plan, and subjected to the Supreme Government in all matters relating to negociations with the Native States, to peace and war, and the application of the Revenues.

To prevent the abuse of the large powers thus vested in the Indian Authorities and ambitious interference with the politics of the Native States, it was declared, that as the pursuit of schemes of conquest was repugnant to the wish, to the honour, and the policy of the British Nation, it was not lawful for the Governor-General in Council of Fortwilliam, without the express authority and concord of the Court of Directors, or of the Secret Committee, either to declare or commence hostilities, or to enter into any treaty for making war against any of the Native Princes or States in India, or any treaty guaranteeing the dominions of such Princes or

The attention of the newly-constituted Government would be primarily directed to the establishment on a solid basis of the Revenue System, hitherto subjected to a series of ill-conducted and unsuccessful experiments; the extirpation of deeply-rooted corruption among the Company's servants; and the substitution of fixed and liberal salaries for the various objectionable expedients by which they had as yet been remunerated.

The individual selected to fill the highest post in the Indian administration, and to carry into effect the important measures proposed, was Earl Cornwallis; a nobleman combining extensive civil and military experience, inflexible integrity, sound judgment, vigorous though not brilliant abilities, and an affable and conciliatory deportment. And his authority was enlarged, by the union in his person of the office of Commander-in-Chief with that of Governor-General. To supply Lord Cornwallis's want of experience of Indian Affairs, and

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or States; except when hostilities should have been commenced, or preparations actually made for the attack of the British Nation in India, or of some of the States and Princes whose dominions it shall be engaged by subsisting treaties to defend.

The subordinate Presidencies were prohibited, by this Act, from making war or peace, without orders from Fortwilliam, the Court of Directors, or the Secret Committee; except in cases of sudden emergency or imminent danger, when it would be ruinous or unsafe to postpone such hostilities or treaty.

especially of the Revenue Department, no Member of the Service occurred to the Directors better qualified than Mr. Shore; and, accordingly, he received the flattering offer of a seat in the Supreme Council.

Zeal in the service of his employers—grateful recognition of their confidence—the prospect of accomplishing that system of reform which he had vainly urged on the preceding Government—and the hope of promoting the happiness of the Natives of India—afforded powerful inducements to his generous and patriotic spirit; whilst a prudential regard to the favourable opportunity of increasing a very moderate income derived additional weight from the event of his recent marriage. But, on the other hand, this circumstance rendered yet more gloomy the prospect of the certain sacrifice of his health, if not of his life, involved in a return to India: for, unfortunately, his own apprehensions of a voyage, then seldom attempted by ladies, and of the pernicious influence of an Indian climate, seconded by the too-successful entreaties of a fond and over-anxious mother, induced Mrs. Shore to forego reluctantly the thought of accompanying him. The die was however cast; and Mr. Shore, after a brief struggle between conflicting feelings and duties, consented to exchange the pleasing visions of "love in a cottage, amidst the blooming valleys of Devonshire," for sickly and toil-worn celibacy on "the parched plains of India."

A Letter written about this time by Mr. Shore to Dr. Ford indicates the little encouragement which England then afforded to the prosecution of Oriental studies:—

"TO THE REV. MR. PROFESSOR FORD.

"SIR— "St. James's Street, March 25, 1786.

. . . .

"The business which detains me here allows me very little leisure; and I should not hesitate paying a visit to Oxford, not only for the pleasure of commencing a personal acquaintance with you, but to avail myself of your assistance in looking over the MSS. The very little encouragement I have met with, since my return to England, has abated much of my zeal for prosecuting my investigations into the Hindoo Literature or Religion. I had prepared some translations of Persian Versions of the Hindoo Authors; and was at the trouble, before I left Bengal, to collate them with the original Sanscrit; but there are so few who have any curiosity to read them, that I have taken no further trouble about them; and the Jôg Bashust, or Jôg Vesesht, which is the name of the book I translated, is consigned to dust. I have the

Persian Version of the Mhabaut. Mr. Wilkins, who lately published a specimen of it, has translated one-half of it from the Sanscrit. Parts of it may entertain, but the whole never will.

. . . .

"In the mean time, I am, with very much esteem,

"Your very obedient and humble servant."

On the 12th of April, Mr. Shore sailed from Portsmouth, in company with Lord Cornwallis, in the "Swallow" Packet, commanded by Capt. Anderson. —Considerations suggested by strong sense and firm trust in Providence, which he had previously addressed to Mrs. Shore in a long Letter, failed to relieve his own spirits from the melancholy which naturally oppressed them, and imparts its sombre tinge to the pages of his epistolary journal. He describes himself as envying John the Painter, whose body he saw hanging in chains at the place of embarkation; and amid the mournful images which haunted his mind, was that of "Cleveland's tomb, dark and dismal," ominous perhaps of his own not improbable doom*.

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* The following stanzas, composed in the following year, were suggested by the recollections of the voyage. They were originally published among Huddesford's Poems, and have appeared in other Collections:—

Mr. Shore sought refuge from distressing thoughts in an assiduous application to the perusal of the Company's Records—the examination of the important questions demanding his attention—the society of his companions—and an increasing devotion to his religious duties.

"Lord Cornwallis," he observes, "is a most amiable man, and fully deserves the character he holds with the world. I am proud to say, that my sentiments in political business and public principles correspond with his. He treats me with all possible regard and confidence; and I could not live

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ELEGY.

On sapphire throne, o'er heaven's unnumber'd fires,
The Moon in full-orb'd majesty presides;
Calm o'er the seas a favouring breeze transpires,
And through the waves the vessel smoothly glides.

Beyond the horizon's bound, the mind extends
To the sought shores where hope delusive leads;
Sooth'd by the scene, her tortuous grief suspends,
For absent kindred, friends, and native meads;

Till sympathy from brooding memory's stores
Culls thorns, and plants them in the bleeding breast:—
Sunk into gloom, the mind no more explores
Hope's future dawn, and pants in vain for rest.

What, though the seas are calm, the skies serene,
Thus anguish dictates the desponding strain:
To friendship, fear presents a gloomier scene,
The whirlwind's fury, and tempestuous main.

Even

on happier terms with him. He was, also, prest into the service contrary to his inclinations.—Colonel Ross, Captain Haldane, and Lieut. Maddan, are all respectable friends and agreeable companions."

The following extract from his Journal refers to his more retired moments:—

"I do not recollect any period in which I have been so regular in my devotions. Nothing else could have afforded me the least consolation: all human considerations were useless. The advice and encouragement of my friends, the powerful arguments derived from the smallness of my income,

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Even now, perhaps, from many a kindred eye
  My dubious fate compels a trickling tear,
And every passing cloud that veils the sky
  Chills some fond anxious breast with boding fear.

In my love's bosom deeper sorrows roll;
  Frantic with dread, she sighs, implores, she raves;
Whilst horror paints me, to her sick'ning soul,
  Dash'd on a rock, o'erwhelm'd beneath the waves.

Father of Heaven! whose power controuls the storms,
  Oh, let thy mercy hear a wanderer's prayer!
Check the wild fears connubial fondness forms,
  And save the tender mourner from despair!

For me, whate'er thy Sovereign Will shall doom,
  Still give me faith to bear that lot resign'd;
That faith, which, smiling, courts the dreary tomb,
  And, Heaven aspiring, soothes the afflicted mind!

and the prospect of increasing it, all appeared weak and futile, and retained no portion of the influence they had over me in England."

Mr. Shore's appointment afforded general satisfaction both to the Europeans and the Natives in India. He was most cordially welcomed by them on his arrival, and found himself surrounded by all his former domestics. He took his seat in Council in January following; and in the meanwhile visited Moorshedabad, charged with the responsible duty of arranging the affairs of the Nabob of Bengal.

There is no blank in Mr. Shore's Correspondence, during his residence in India, from this period to that of his resignation of the office of Governor-General; as copies of all his Letters, taken by native amanuenses, have been preserved. His correspondence with Mrs. Shore assumes, as has been already stated, the form of an epistolary journal—the plan he had previously adopted in writing to his mother; a voluminous memorial, no less of his general observations and reflections on various topics and events, than of his private feelings and opinions. That part of it which was written on Sundays was devoted exclusively to religious subjects. Where materials are so abundant, it is difficult to form a selection.

In describing the society of Calcutta on his arrival, he observes, that, notwithstanding the general stigma thrown upon all Europeans who have been in India, virtue was by no means wanting among his countrymen; and though bad example operated upon many, all were not affected by it. He considers that the habits and manners of the Settlement were better calculated for men than for women; but that whatever morality might exist in India, the external forms of Religion were little attended to. "To the disgrace of the Settlement," he adds, "we have hitherto had no proper Church at Calcutta. One was begun before I went to England, for the erection of which I was a subscriber. Six months more will elapse, I imagine, before it is completed."

"TO H. J. CHANDLER, ESQ.

"MY DEAR CHANDLER— "Calcutta, November 13, 1786.

. . . .

"As to myself, I have got into an excellent house, and live upon the happiest terms with Lord Cornwallis. I love and esteem his character, which is what the world allows it. The honesty of his principle is inflexible: he is manly, affable, and good-natured; of an excellent judgment; and he has a degree of application to business beyond what you would suppose. I could not be happier with any man. His health is sound; for he has not had an hour's indisposition since first I saw him. If the state of affairs would allow him to be popular, which he is most eminently so at present, no Governor would ever enjoy a greater share of popularity;—but the Company must be served and assisted.

. . . .

"I am most affectionately yours."

"TO W. BENSLEY, ESQ.

"MY DEAR SIR— "Calcutta, November 13, 1786.

. . . .

"In speaking of Mr. Macpherson, I can hardly write with temper, though I will endeavour to do it with impartiality. In private life, he is a good-humoured, affable, and obliging man, with many qualities calculated to acquire esteem. Notwithstanding this, I do declare that I have not heard one person speak of his public conduct without contempt and indignation. In England, you only see one side of the medal: here we observe the reverse. We know what is done, what ought to have been, and what is left undone. Never was any administration so thoroughly despicable as his: a total want of energy, dignity, and common sense distinguish it. Evasion was substituted for decision; caution and hesitation, instead of action: and if this has not already been understood in Europe, the inability of his colleagues to expose it, is the cause. . . . . . . Natives and Europeans universally exclaim that Lord Cornwallis's arrival is the salvation of the country.

. . . .

Mr. Macpherson will, in my opinion, go home, and a successor must be appointed. I hope the Directors will consider the importance of the appointment, and send out a man of abilities, integrity, and application. The situation of affairs requires the first talents, and most approved honesty.

I am by no means desponding; but the prospect of relief from our embarrassments is too remote to be visible. Another war would ruin us. At present, I have not the least reason to apprehend this event with any of the Powers of Hindostan; and Lord Cornwallis is determined to avoid it, by acting up to the faith of treaties, and with justice and attention to all our allies. Though unemployed, I am not idle. I have much to learn, and do all I can to acquire information.

. . . .

"Lord Cornwallis, unsolicited by me, and unknown to me, wrote to Mr. Dundas on the subject of obtaining for me something from the Directors*, on account of the expenses of my voyage. I made no application for it myself; as I did not conceive myself entitled to it, by Act of Parliament or precedent. My appointment is too honourable a reward for my services, to ask for more than what has the sanction of right and usage.

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* The Directors, in compliance with this request, voted to Mr. Shore, in payment of his passage to India, 1000*l.* "as a compliment for his distinguished merit and attention to the Company's affairs."

"I am, my Dear Sir,

"Your obliged and very sincere humble servant."

"TO DAVID ANDERSON, ESQ.

"DEAR ANDERSON— "Calcutta, Nov. 13, 1786.

. . . .

"I begin to repent my voyage to India. You may guess the cause: it haunts me continually, and in some degree disqualifies me for business. Fortunately for me, I am obliged to work incessantly; and this, by relieving my spirits, contributes, I believe, to support my health. Without some such stimulus, I should stagnate in unavailing despondency.

"Our arrival was fortunate for the country. You may believe me, when I assure you, without exaggeration, that the late Government had incurred universal contempt, the natural consequence of feeble, indecisive measures. The public voice pronounces them to have been concerned in endless jobs. If I were to write my own opinion about them, you would deem plain truth downright prejudice.—Peace to their manes!

"I will, however, frankly own to you, that the embarrassments of the Company in India are greater than you can conceive. I dare not expatiate upon them; and look with apprehension to the period when I am to become a Member of the Administration. They require the abilities and unremitted application of the ablest men. Judge what must have been the confusion attending the Councils of . . . .

. . . .

"I see no prospect of any quarrels with any of our Indian neighbours; though a measure of Mr. Macpherson's Government, to assist the Peshwa with three battalions of Sepoys against Tippoo, would have laid the foundation of hostilities, if not promoted them. Lord Cornwallis stopped the negociations. Mr. Macpherson did not seem to recollect that it was against law, policy, and the faith of treaties. If our finances had permitted us to send three brigades, there might have been some sense in the measure. As it stood, it only served to alarm and irritate, without being of any assistance.

"Remember me to Mr. H. Sands, and all my friends; and believe me, with real regard,

"Yours most sincerely."

"TO MRS. SHORE.

"MY DEAR CHARLOTTE— "Moorshedabad, Jan. 2, 1787.

"When I returned to England, after an absence of above sixteen years, all the places which I visited renewed the ideas of the transactions of my earliest youth: some were accompanied with anxiety and regret, others were attended with pleasure. But I know not how it is at present:—though I have been formerly happy in this country, and particularly so at the place where I now reside, I can derive but few ideas from recollections that afford any gratification. Melancholy too generally prevails, and stamps all the objects of former delight with gloom. —Have you not, or rather do you not, often experience the same sensation?—much too often, I fear, for your happiness!

"The following little Sonnet I once repeated to you in prose. I have versified it from the Arabic:—

"The Dove, whose notes disturb my rest,
Feels pangs like mine corrode her breast:
Her midnight warblings fill the grove,
Whilst I conceal my secret love:
Yet hidden passion fiercer glows,
And bursting sighs my griefs disclose.
All pangs that Love inspires, we own;
Her lot is, to lament and moan;
Whilst I with deeper anguish sigh,
In silence weep, and weeping die."

"Calcutta, January 21, 1787.

"You will naturally wish to know my mode of life in Bengal. I rise early, ride seven to ten miles, and breakfast by eight o'clock: after that, business occupies my time till the hour of dinner, which is three. Our meals here are short: and in the evening, when the weather permits, which at this season of the year is daily, I walk out. The remaining time between that and ten o'clock, which is my hour of rest, I spend with my friends; as I make it a rule not to attend to business of an evening. Suppers are by no means agreeable to me. At present, we have balls every week; but I am not fond of them; and indeed have been at one private ball only, which was given by Lord Cornwallis;—nor have I yet attended one play.

. . . .

"The last despatches brought us the intelligence of the proceedings against Mr. Hastings; from which it appears that he is likely to have much trouble and vexation. I feel for his situation most sincerely; and yet I have enough of regard for the honour of my country, not to wish charges against him rejected by a vote of the majority.

"Much prejudice and unfair proceedings have been used with respect to him. But on his trial before the House of Peers, he has nothing to fear on this subject. There he will be heard and judged with impartiality, and a reasonable allowance be made for the errors of judgment which even the best and wisest are subjected to. I acknowledge that I do not think his conduct exempt from blame, or altogether consistent; but what man, who has run through a long political career, can say, 'I have never erred'? Passion will mislead the soundest judgment. As a man, I know him to possess many virtues—charity, generosity, and forgiveness: as a statesman, I have often disapproved of his conduct. I think it peculiarly fortunate for me that my connection with him in this country has not implicated me in any of the charges stated against him—even my evidence not required. This leads me naturally to reflections on that Providence, which has so often shaped my ways for me, and directed me to objects which were scarcely in view. —Shall I say that chance brought *us* first acquainted? No;—I will attribute it to the guidance of Providence, whom I thank for the happiest occurrence in my life.

. . . .

"On how many contingencies did my return to this country depend!—Lord Macartney was appointed to succeed Mr. Hastings. He arrived in Bengal, but refused to accept the government. Even his appointment originally depended upon drawing lots; and it was decided in his favour, against Mr. Vansittart. Lord Cornwallis accepted the government against his own inclination. The least alteration in any one of the previous dispositions would have kept me in England, more to my happiness than my residence here.

"This day I take my seat as a Member of the Government in Bengal; Mr. Stables being gone, and his resignation arrived. Do you suppose that I am flattered by it? By no means:—I see nothing but difficulties and vexations attending the situation. The terms of confidence in which I live with Lord Cornwallis, his amiable disposition and firm integrity, will render my situation as agreeable as it is capable of being;—but, after all, I want something more, to render my happiness complete, or rather to make me comfortable."

"TO WARREN HASTINGS, ESQ.

"MY DEAR SIR— "Bengal, Feb. 16, 1787.

"I have now been something more than five months in Bengal; and the only apology I can make for having so long delayed writing to you, is, that the portion of time left me from business and indisposition have been very little, and too much absorbed by melancholy reflections to allow me to think of my friends as I ought to do. You may believe me, when I assure you that I have heartily repented of my voyage, and that it has required the utmost exertions of my understanding to determine me to remain. The die is now cast; and I hope, in the course of this year, to recover health and spirits sufficiently to remain for some time longer. At present, nothing amuses me, and little interests me.

"The respect, esteem, and regard which I have for Lord Cornwallis might subject my opinion of his government to a suspicion of partiality. Yet I cannot avoid mentioning, that it has acquired the character of vigour, consistency, and dignity. The system of patronage which you so justly reprobated, and which you always found so grievous a tax, has been entirely subverted. The Members of Government, relieved from the torture of private solicitations, have more time to attend to their public duties; and the expenses of Government are kept within their established bounds. On these principles, I acknowledge it difficult to gratify my wishes with respect to my own friends, or those who, from recommendation, have claims upon me; and I cannot expect to escape reproaches for a conduct which the interest of the Company renders indispensable. With Lord Cornwallis I have had the happiness to live constantly on terms of the most intimate confidence; and on this account, as well as by a knowledge of his character, I am precluded from making any solicitations, but such as are warranted by the strictest propriety. You will learn from others how well his time is regulated, and of his unremitted application to business; and I will trust to Larkins to acquaint you with the revival of public and private credit. His situation was uncomfortable on our arrival: he now receives the respect due to his zeal, integrity, and indefatigable application.

. . . .

"The Imitation of the Ode of Horace, in which you flattered me with the insertion of my name, has appeared in the European Magazine for June. I know not by whom it has been published; but I should not have deemed myself authorised, without your permission, to communicate a copy of it to any one.

. . . .

"With the sincerest wishes for your health and happiness, and for your deliverance from prosecution,

"I am, my Dear Sir,
"Your obliged and very obedient servant."

In a Letter to Mrs. Arlond, acknowledging the gratifying intelligence of the birth of a daughter, Mr. Shore thus notices the death of his old friend, Mr. Stanley :—

"I cannot but feel a regret that I shall no more have the society of the best of men, your Brother, from whom I had received so many acts of regard and friendship. His release from the miseries which embittered his latter hours is happy for him; and I never knew any one who had a better expectation for what he now enjoys—eternal happiness. A tear is a tribute which I owe to his memory; and that has more than once been paid."

. . . .

CHAPTER VI.

LORD CORNWALLIS'S GOVERNMENT—REFORM—FOREIGN POLICY—MEASURES AGAINST TIPPOO.

As the vacancy in the Supreme Council, occasioned by Mr. Macpherson's departure for England, was not filled up, the Governor-General had, during a considerable period, but two colleagues: and, as he was frequently absent on remote arrangements, the responsibility for some important measures devolved chiefly on Mr. Shore; the other Member of the Council relying implicitly on his judgment and experience. He thus broadly states the guiding principles of the new Government:—

"All is peace; and likely to be so. Our political line is plain, clear, and direct; and I trust we shall never have any occasion to deviate. Honesty, in a political line, I conceive the best policy, as well as in private life. . . . . Indian politics may be reduced within narrow limits. Power, not intrigue, is our only security; and whilst we possess that, or, what is almost equal to it, the reputation of it, nothing but wanton injustice, or the most imprudent conduct, will induce any Indian nation to attack us."

The Government now applied itself earnestly to the great work of reform; embracing the abolition of patronage, a fertile source of corruption—the reduction of useless establishments—the definition of the duties of the various departments of the administration—and the remuneration of the Functionaries by fixed and liberal salaries.

"TO H. J. CHANDLER, ESQ.

"DEAR CHANDLER— "August 3, 1787.

. . . .

"Lord Cornwallis is gone up the country, to review the Military Stations; and has left Stuart and myself to go on with the business. I hope it will prosper in our hands.

. . . .

"What I feel most is, the distress of numbers with whom I am connected. The former extravagance of the Service has produced this consequence. I would give you a long list of persons that you know, actually ruined beyond hope of recovery; but the catalogue would not be most agreeable to your feelings.

"The principles upon which we act will make me more enemies than friends; but how can I help it? There is no serving God and Mammon. The Company and individuals cannot both grow rich at the same time. We embarked in a sinking vessel, and, by pumping hard, have kept her afloat. She is now got into port, and refitting. Save us from storms, and she will sail again in goodly trim.

"I look to a period of retirement, when reflections upon what is past must make the happiness or misery of my future life. I have no inclination to be impeached, I can assure you, either by Mr. Burke—or, what is worse, my own feelings. To remove me to-morrow would not give me a moment's uneasiness;—to be sensible that I deserved it, would. This is in my own power.

"I write, as you will perceive, *currente calamo*. Tell me all the bad they say of us in England; and if you have any thing good to communicate, keep it to yourself. I have flattery enough here to sicken me for ten years—as many months, days, and minutes.

"Yours most affectionately."

"TO DAVID ANDERSON, ESQ.

"MY DEAR ANDERSON— "Sept. 1, 1787.

. . . .

"Amongst the many anxious wishes I entertain, one is, to see you in this country again. If I had the choice of the Government for you or myself, I could not hesitate to give you the preference, I assure you. If the opportunity which was open to you when I left England still remains, I beg you will accept it. Of all the men I ever met with, Lord Cornwallis is the most pleasing to do business with: with great humanity, good-nature, and an affability that conciliates all, he acts with the firmness and integrity of a Cato. We certainly want you here; and with your assistance the Government would be as easy as a glove. Your Brother knows my sentiments; and I hope he will persuade you.——I return you a Letter you sent to him, directed to my care.

. . . .

"I am, my Dear friend,
"Yours most affectionately."

"TO ——— ———.

"MY DEAR SIR— "Sept. 7, 1787.

. . . .

"The Court of Directors, from necessity and prudence, have adopted the closest system of economy. To this it is my duty, as well as inclination, to conform: but I would wish my superiors to consider well the principles on which this system is to be adopted; for, unless they are well understood, the end will disappoint their expectations.

"Useless pensions, offices, and establishments, are burdens upon a State, which ought to be abolished; but at the same time a liberal recompence must be given, as a reward of zeal, assiduity, and integrity. Without this, your affairs will never flourish. You must take human-nature as it is. Exertion will be languid in the most zealous minds, if not stimulated by a prospect of recompence; and a languid discharge of public duties will never improve your affairs. In another point of view, the reflection is equally important. To secure integrity, a man should be rewarded. In all the important posts of this Government, temptation is not wanting, to warp the principles. Is it just, to place a starving man before a feast, and tell him to serve all without feeding himself? Some will be found superior to all temptations; but prudence and justice equally require that no persons ought to be exposed to that which I have described. I am not applying this to myself; for I acknowledge, with the utmost sincerity, that the Company have rewarded me beyond my merits and expectations.

. . . .

"Permit me to address you with freedom, in consequence of some reflections which occurred to me in reading the general Letter by the "Minerva." You will never have a more zealous Governor than Lord Cornwallis, nor one so devoted to business.

He has had, and ever shall have, my warmest assistance. Zeal, to be active, must be animated: too severe restrictions exhibit a suspicion which damps the zeal of integrity: and whilst public motives are attended to, and private ones discarded, —whilst general merits overbalance particular neglects which do not originate in wilful disobedience, self-interest, or design—a little applause will prove the surest incentive to action. No men could have slaved more than we have done; but the complicated business of this Government requires the incessant application of the most vigorous health, as well as the exertions of zeal and ability. In England, people in high offices are assisted by abilities superior to their own. Here, we are compelled to deliberate on Politics, Trade, Finance, Justice, general arrangements, and particular rules.

. . . .

"I should be sorry if the freedom of this address were deemed offensive. To you personally, and to the Directors generally, I owe all respect; and in that I hope I shall never fail; at least, I shall never be guilty of intentional disrespect to a Body which has distinguished me above my merits, and who have every right to claim the utmost exertions, gratitude, and respect on my part.

"I am, Dear Sir,

"Your very obedient and humble servant."

"TO WARREN HASTINGS, ESQ.

"MY DEAR SIR— "Bengal, Sept. 15, 1787.

"The 'Minerva' brought me your Letter of the 19th of February; and I need not add how much it interested me. I felt indeed more than I can express; and, above all, a strong inclination to promote the object of your address.

"Lord Cornwallis was at Benares, on his way to Futtyghur and Cawnpoor, when the 'Minerva' arrived; but I communicated a copy of your Letter to him, with one from myself: and I have received an answer to it, giving his ready assent for taking the measures you propose, in vindication of your character, which I hope, ere this will reach you, is purged from the imputations which party and malevolence have united to fix upon it.

. . . .

"Of all the imputations against you, that of self-interest and corrupt motives are what I least expected to see brought forward, and what I believe none here have ever imputed to you. On the contrary, I should join with those who had the best opportunities of knowing you, in charging you with a reprehensible indifference to money and pecuniary concerns. This I see has been urged to taint all the transactions of your Government as flowing from this source. Believing, as I do, the utter impossibility of proving these charges against you, the same conviction which animates me will, I trust, come home to your Judges, and operate as much to your advantage as suspicion has done to your disservice. I am obliged to be very short; but my attention to the material objects of your Letter will, I hope, compensate for my brevity.— I beg my respects to Mrs. Hastings, and am,

"Dear Sir,

"Your obliged and very obedient humble servant."

The peace of India was now apparently threatened by the hostile designs of Tippoo. Intimation was received from the Madras Government, whose apprehensions had been already communicated to Fortwilliam, of the probability of an immediate infraction of his engagements with the British Government, on the part of that Prince, by an attack on its ally, the Rajah of Travancore. Lord Cornwallis being in the Upper Provinces, Mr. Shore recorded his opinion, that the British Government was bound in honour and policy to defend its allies, notwithstanding the great expense of war; and that, as Tippoo's hostilities could not be confined to the territories of Travancore, the measures adopted by the Madras Government should be such as a direct invasion of the British territories would demand. And, in a Letter to the Governor-General, he extends his view beyond the immediate crisis, and recommends a course justified by the character of the enemy, and fully borne out by subsequent events: and, in conclusion, he proceeds to suggest, with deference to Lord Cornwallis's military experience and better acquaintance with the military resources of the Government, a plan for the effectual prosecution of the war. The threatened storm, for the present, happily blew over.

"TO EARL CORNWALLIS.

"MY LORD— "Oct. 4, 1787.

"I give up this morning, to afford you my reflections on the intelligence communicated by Sir A. Campbell. I am clearly of opinion, if Tippoo is serious in his intention of attacking the Rajah of Travancore, that he means to carry his hostilities beyond the territories of that Prince: and on these grounds, it will be necessary to prepare for a war throughout the Carnatic. . . . . . But I think we ought to go a step further than merely acting upon the defensive; and, if Tippoo should enter into the war with us, that we ought not to make peace until we have put it out of his power to hurt us more, at least for a long series of years.

"On the present system, whilst we are under the necessity of employing all our resources merely to guard against a Prince who is daily aggrandizing his power, our means must decrease, and his gain strength. It is true, that I would not on this account think of attacking him merely to prevent his attacking us in future; but, if he should begin, I conceive it will be the wisest policy to adopt this consideration as the principle of our conduct. The question is, If we have the means to do it?—and, notwithstanding the embarrassed state of the Company's finances, I do not hesitate to declare my opinion that it is practicable."

He then states the reasons on which his conclusion is founded.

. . . .

"If by extraordinary exertions we can terminate the war in a year or two, it will in the end be found the cheapest method.

"Suppose we should merely act on the defensive: what is the probable consequence? Tippoo will destroy our resources, by ravaging the Carnatic; and, when he has driven us to the last distress, call in the assistance of the French, to complete it. But if even this should not happen, he may effect our ruin by continuing the same plan of operations until we are no longer able to oppose him."

"TO H. CHANDLER, ESQ.

"DEAR SIR— "Jan. 12, 1788.

. . . .

"The Committee of Directors, however liberally disposed they may be to us, do not at least express it as they ought to do. But, after all, the doctrines I hear held forth and maintained in Parliament are such as would deter any man of common prudence from stepping beyond the line of his duty in compliance with State exigency. This is a language I shall not use to any one in power. Indeed, I am determined to write to none but my friends: and if the public proceedings will not bear us out, I am contented to remove.

"I do not care how soon I shake you by the hand again: yet, if I were to return to Europe to-morrow, I should not be 2000*l.* richer than when I left England: however, I save at least one-half of my salary. But, what is more, I am perfectly convinced that I could retire to my cottage in Devonshire with more content than when I left it;—and with you, and one or two more like you, for neighbours, I should not desire more. I have one wish about you, for your own happiness—that you were married, and lived upon 800*l.* a-year. This is not impossible.

"Believe me ever yours most affectionately."

"TO J. HOOLE, ESQ.

"DEAR SIR— "Bengal, Feb. 20, 1788.

"I have the pleasure to acknowledge the receipt of your two Letters, under date the 2d and 27th of June, and to return you my sincere thanks for the little Poem of "The Country Curate," which has delighted me more than any which I have read for a long time. It is a plain, simple tale; an occurrence of common life, in easy, natural, and elegant language. The whole interested me; but the last Canto is highly pathetic, and affected me to tears. The story also derives a peculiar energy from the piety interspersed in it; and my heart tells me that it is written from the heart.

"It is a great chance how far your proposed plan of an edition of Ariosto will succeed in Bengal. The greatest part of British Residents here are too much occupied with business to attend to poetry. I think, however, that fifty copies might be disposed of here: and if you will send that number, you shall have my warmest assistance in disposing of them. It will be proper, however, that you address them to some other person as well as myself; since the precarious state of my health may oblige me to return sooner than I wish. You should also take care to precede the books.

I send you inclosed a little Poem written in memory of my dear deceased relation, Cleveland. I felt more than I expressed at the time.

"I beg my respects to your son, whose elegant talents have given me so much delight;—and I am,

"With great regard, Dear Sir,

"Your very obedient humble servant."

With a view to the vindication of his character, Mr. Hastings had requested Mr. Shore to obtain from the Natives of India a declaration of their free sentiments on his public conduct; and had especially suggested to him the expedient of issuing a Circular to the Collectors, inviting them to elicit a statement to that effect from the Natives in their respective districts. Mr. Shore had prudently declined acceding to this proposal, lest testimony so procured might be attributed to the interposition of Official Authority.

"TO WARREN HASTINGS, ESQ.

"MY DEAR SIR— "Bengal, March 7, 1788.

. . . .

"My reflections on the whole of this business have not been unattended with much concern; as I see your happiness is so much interested in receiving the testimonies of those whom you governed so long. The Natives of India, some few excepted, are seldom influenced by any other motives than those of hope and fear: though, if it were possible to convene them on one spot, and to ask them for their free and unbiassed sentiments on your Administration in India, I have no doubt that their voices would be declaratory in your favour. To say that the whole would be so, is more than any one could expect; since it is not possible that some would not be discontented. With this conviction, I feel the more sensibly a regret that my public station precludes me adopting those measures that might induce the Natives to declare their free sentiments. Mr. Thompson has, however, suggested a proposition, that will, if Lord Cornwallis approve it, allow him an opportunity to accomplish this point; which I do not despair of seeing done, by unexceptionable means.

"My health is the same as formerly, with little amendment; and I have but one wish—that of settling what depends upon myself, and returning to England; where it would give me the sincerest pleasure to see you relieved from the scene of trouble and vexation in which you have been so long involved.

. . . .

"I beg my respects to Mrs. Hastings; and am,
"My Dear Sir, your obliged
and very sincere humble servant."

The proposition alluded to in the above Letter was, that Lord Cornwallis should endeavour to ascertain, during his visit to the Upper Provinces, and especially to the very districts which had been the supposed scene of Mr. Hastings's atrocities, the opinion of him entertained by the Natives.—The result of the inquiry, to use Lord Cornwallis's own words, was, that "Mr. Hastings was positively beloved by the people."

"TO MRS. SHORE.

"*Sunday, April* 6.—Retirement from the world, abstraction from business, and thinking upon you, all dispose me to seriousness and melancholy.—Happy is it, indeed, for my bodily as well as intellectual health that one day in seven intervenes for rest and reflection: without it, the occupations and follies of life would destroy both . . . . . The conviction that I entertain of the existence of the Deity, of His Providence, and of a future state, was never stronger upon my mind than at present. I cherish and fortify this conviction by reason, reflection, and practice, as the only bases of hope—as the sole preservation against misfortune.

"We are separated; and, if we should meet, must once again be disunited for ever in this world.

Our lives are at the disposal of the Author of our being: and if He should please to recall what he gave, what hope, what comfort can be left to the survivor, but resignation to His will, and trust on His Providence? 'Father Almighty! Thy will be done!' is all that we can say. But if what we utter from the lips proceeds from the heart, He will not neglect us. We are here in a state of trial and probation; and wisely has His Providence decreed to us evil. Without sickness, misfortune, or cares, we should swell into insolence, or relapse into insensibility; but He checks ebullitions of pride and prosperity; and interposes, to mollify the obduracy of our hearts. Upon this system, all is consistent and reconcileable, even to our imperfect understandings. When Philosophy, in its arrogance, attempts to depart from this line, it wanders in mazes of error, doubt, and misery. Let us thank Him for supplying us with understanding to comprehend this. Let us rest satisfied, that all that we see, enjoy, or suffer, proceeds from a Source of Infinite Wisdom, Power, and Benevolence; nor attempt to explore what He has concealed, or censure impiously what He has dispensed. 'Father Almighty! Thy will be done!' is the creed we ought to engrave on our hearts. 'Father Almighty! Thy will be done!' should be our morning call and nightly cry. To Him we ought to pray for understanding to believe and feel this truth; and in the belief of it, we may suffer, but ought not to be miserable. Such is my firm creed: and may He, that impressed it on my heart, daily and hourly fortify the belief!

April 13.—My mind is daily more impressed with a sense of my dependence on the Deity—of His Providence, mercies, and benevolence: and I think it is cheerful in proportion as this conviction gains strength. If this is the effect of sickness and weakness of constitution, I ought to rejoice at a cause which has restored me to my senses; and if the effect continues—hard as the task may prove, severe though the trial may be—you ought to console yourself, if it should please Providence to deprive you of me. Such are my reflections at this moment: yet I will not say that they will always have the same force. My past life has been such as to deprive me of this confidence; and involved as I am in worldly business, in which my passions, feelings, and principles are interested, they may again be dissipated or weakened. My present occupation has a tendency to weaken them.

"Sunday is with me a day of retirement. I seclude myself from all visitors, and for this day renounce business. I begin it with thanksgivings, and adorations of Him to whom I owe my being. Part of the day is employed in repeating this duty, in reading proper books, in writing to you, and in study or rest. Such is my general, but not invariable practice; for the day sometimes passes in idle dissipation, or even business."

. . . .

During this period of Mr. Shore's residence in India, he rarely attended the Services of the Church. This neglect, originally unavoidable, from the unfortunate privation of the means of Public Worship, had now become in a great measure habitual to him.

"TO MRS. SHORE.

"*April* 22, 1788.—This year we have been afflicted with a great scarcity; so much so, that many mothers have been compelled to sell their children. Knowing this, I ordered my servants to buy all that were brought; and promised the parents, that if they would take back their children after the removal of the scarcity, they should all have them again. Without this, many must have died, or have been disposed of to persons who would not have taken as much care of them as I have done. I have great doubts myself if many of the parents—strange as it may appear to you, who are a mother—will not leave them upon my hands; for maternal affection here is very different from what it is in England.

"Two or three months will determine this; and you shall know the event. I hope they will all be reclaimed; as otherwise I must be at the expense of maintaining them;—which, however, will not be burdensome. Let that be as it may, I shall always find a satisfaction in what I have done, and never feel a pang at appropriating a part of my income to this purpose. What do you think was the price given for each?—from ten shillings to twenty. Now tell me, Charlotte, if you are displeased at my increase of family? The brats have clothing as well as food. The whole expense of maintaining them does not exceed £6 a month;—and that will be less. I thank God that the apprehension of a scarcity daily decreases, and is now, in fact, removed. Many thousands are daily maintained by public contributions; of which I have given a share, although my name is not in the public list of Benefactors."

. . . .

Mr. Shore's opinion, on the want of natural affection in the parents of his adopted children, was justified by the result. Only one child was claimed by its mother; and it was both deaf and dumb.

His health had now suffered so much from the climate and harassing labour, that he had engaged his passage to Europe; but yielded his intention to the urgent claims of public business. "The life of a man in Bengal, who does his duty," he observes in his Correspondence, "is really that of a galley-slave. Here he is in constant warfare with innumerable opponents, and must submit to the common tax of censure and calumny."

The peaceable aspect of internal affairs meanwhile consoled him under his personal sufferings:—

"I have given over writing about politics. So much I will tell you, that our credit with the different Powers of India stands as high at this time as it ever did at any period. We have acted, with regard to them, upon the principle that 'Honesty is the best policy;' which I conceive to be as true in public as in private life. Our power makes us arbiters of the affairs of Hindostan; and folly only can deprive us of the balance."

"TO DAVID ANDERSON, ESQ.

"MY DEAR ANDERSON— "Bengal, Nov. 8, 1788.

. . . .

"The public despatches will convey the Addresses from the Natives to the Directors, on Mr. Hastings's government. They will perhaps, in England, think him obliged to my assistance. Mr. Burke is rapid in his conclusions; Mr. Sheridan ingenious in surmises; and Mr. Fox bold in assertion. *Credat Judæus Apella!* I reply, that I have never seen the Addresses; that I never, directly or indirectly, solicited a vote in his favour; nor ever authorised any man to use my name for this purpose.

"Your old friend Sindiah is reviving again. Golam Kader Khan, with unexampled barbarity, has extinguished the old King's eyes. His behaviour was that of a most unlicensed ruffian. He was joined by Ishmail Beg, after his defeat by Sindiah; but is now deserted by him—probably some disagreement about the plunder of the palace; and Ishmail is now an ally of Sindiah. They jointly attacked Golam Kader in Delhy; who evacuated it, and is now on his march to his dominions at Ghose Gur. I think that he and Sindiah will come to a compromise. The unfortunate Shah Aulum has survived his misfortunes; but the loss of his sight will be the loss of his royal pageantry. Never did I feel more emotion in my life than from a wish to revenge the King's cause, and punish the Rohilla. Sindiah has often expressed his satisfaction in our attempts to prevent our own subjects, or those of the Vizier, from joining against him during his misfortunes.

"We have got possession of Guntore. You remember the Mendicant in Gil Blas, who begs with a gun laid over two cross-sticks. The Nizam generously parted with what he could not hold; but we promised him the immediate payment of all his claims—the due discharge of the Peshcush to him in future; and we shall settle as fairly and as liberally as we have promised.

"The Poonah Mahrattas are strongly attached to us. Asoph-uddoulah is contented. Our plan towards all is, plain language, firm conduct, and conciliatory behaviour. If these principles will not succeed, intrigue never will. Our policy has been the reverse of Sir John's: and I trust our success will not disgrace it. In our internal management, we have given force to Regulations by vigorous decisions. Censures, suspensions, and removals, do more than volumes of precepts. I foresee a host of enemies; but '*Nil conscire sibi*' is the only reply I shall make to calumny or detractions. If our public proceedings will not bear us out, I shall not resort to explanations. No Government ever worked harder than we have done. Pleasure and relaxation are never thought of.

. . . .

"Duncan * goes on with reputation at Benares.—Remember me kindly to James, and believe me

"Most affectionately yours."

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* Jonathan Duncan, Esq., afterwards Governor of Bombay.

Mr. Shore retained his opinion, to the close of his own government, on the inexpediency of intrigue; observing in a Letter written about that time, that the probable result of it, in dealing with the Native Powers, would be, that we should be, in most instances, the dupes rather than the deceivers.

"TO H. INGLIS, ESQ.

"MY DEAR SIR— "Bengal, Nov. 9, 1788.

. . . .

"You never had a Board of Trade more diligent. Charles Grant, who possesses the first knowledge, talents, and honesty, exerts himself most indefatigably: and you will perceive a great difference in the Letters from the Board of Trade under his management, and formerly. The information now is open, clear, and satisfactory. Arguments are fairly brought forward and stated: and the principles being clearly pointed out, errors, if they occur, may be more easily corrected. You will see that we have continued the liberty of private trade to your Commercial Residents and Agents. Depend upon it, that the true way to improve your affairs is to make the interests of individuals and the Company to go hand in hand. Without this they will never thrive.

. . . .

"We have, I fear, made a sad nest of hornets, by our decisions regarding the creditors of the Nabob of Arcot. I shall only say, that we did our duty, without regard to consequences; and you must support us as firmly as we decided, if you are of opinion that we acted right. Half measures, in matters of great concern, will not do. I do not indeed think the principles of the present Government likely to make many friends: those that we do acquire or retain, I hope will be respectable; and I shall be satisfied with wanting others. Trifling mistakes or errors we may commit; but you will not find false principles or interested practices: the rest remains with you at home. But you may lay it down, that the Company's affairs in India will never thrive, unless there be at the head of it men of ability, integrity, and close application. You do not want extraordinary abilities: a sound judgment and application will do all that is required.

"I beg my sincere respects to Mrs. Inglis; and am, with great regard,

"Your very affectionate humble servant."

"TO MRS. SHORE.

"Jan. 9, 1789.

. . . .

"The task upon which Lord Cornwallis and myself embarked for India was reformation and improvement. We had inveterate prejudices and long-confirmed habits to encounter. To serve our constituents, it was necessary to retrench the emoluments of individuals, and to introduce system and regularity where all before was disorder and misrule. People in England condemn the favour shewn to individuals in Bengal, at the Company's expense; whilst they are daily recommending them to patronage, although they disclaim the idea. This principle we have had to oppose and discourage. Under such circumstances, it cannot be expected that a man acting up to the object of his appointment can conduct himself agreeably to all: for though there is, I believe, more honesty, principle, and humanity in India, comparatively speaking, than in England, our experience of mankind proves that, with the majority, these qualities are not to be found. Exclusive of these difficulties, which the situation of affairs superadded, the common business of this Government is by no means easy or small. Our politics extend to nations all over the Peninsula of India—to the Mahrattas and other States on the Malabar coast, as well as to Delhi on this side. We controul the revenues and collections of the country, exceeding altogether four millions. We distribute justice among a people more populous than those of Great Britain. We have an army of 40,000 men; and send home annually an investment of goods nearly equal to a million sterling. That all this various business be well done, we must enter into the detail of it: and he that wishes to do his duty will have little time for amusement, or even for sleep. This abridged account of our Government in Bengal will shew you the importance of my situation. Do not suppose I mention this out of vanity; but it will convince you, that to leave it without due consideration would, in my predicament, be inexcusable. Neither will you wonder, after the perusal, that I should complain of fatigue or disquiet. Often does it happen, in the course of the year, that I am obliged to work when I am only fit to lounge upon the couch; and, what is still harder, to resist the applications made by distress and want, when a compliance with them is contrary to my sense of duty. This is indeed a severe trial of the feelings; to which, from my station, I am but too often exposed, and what I consider the lightest part of my duty.

. . . .

"TO N. SMITH, ESQ.

"MY DEAR SIR— "Bengal, Jan. 10, 1789.

. . . .

"I wish it were possible to make a fair examination between the measures of this Government and that of Britain. Let the Reports of the Committees appointed to investigate the National Accounts be examined; and you will find, that for one sinecure place in Bengal, there are ten in England. Indeed, it would now, I believe, be difficult to point out any salary here for which some equivalent duty is not exacted. There are in Bengal, as everywhere else, men who, neglecting their own business, are always busy in suggesting improvements in departments where they have no concern; and they claim a merit in making propositions which are neglected or set aside.

"I shall only observe upon this, that there are bounds to exertion, and that even well-meant propositions are sometimes overlooked, because there are more matters of importance to do: but it much oftener happens, that they are disregarded, because they are not likely to produce the advantages proposed. To determine whether we do our duty or not, let our proceedings be consulted: you will find that sufficient is recorded to employ moderate attention during three parts of the year to peruse. Something must be allowed for reflection, deliberation, interruption, and indisposition. A Governor with less firmness, less moderation, less integrity than Lord Cornwallis, and wanting his conciliatory address, would never have accomplished half what has been done.

. . . .

"I am, my Dear Sir,
"Your very obliged and faithful humble servant."

"TO G. G. DUCAREL, ESQ.

"MY DEAR SIR— "Bengal, Feb. 15, 1789.

. . . .

"I have long been at work, in preparing a Plan of Settlement for Ten Years.

. . . .

"My ideas concur with those of Mr. Francis: but the length of time which has elapsed since the proposal of his Plan requires a modification of it, now necessary.—Shall I ever be thanked for what I do?

. . . .

"Lord Cornwallis preserves his health and integrity. He has a peace of mind which nothing alarms, being built upon a solid foundation. I esteem, respect, and love him: our objects are the same, and we never disagree in the means. We debate and yield alternately, like people who prefer the public good to the reputation of their opinions.

"Remember me to Mrs. Ducarel; and believe me
"Your ever affectionate."

"TO THE REV. T. W. SHORE.

"MY DEAR BROTHER— "Bengal, Feb. 22, 1789.

"Having finished a Letter to Charlotte, I now begin one to you. How many more I may write to you from Bengal, I know not. If I were to follow my own inclination, I should, by my presence, render future correspondence unnecessary. Sunday is the day I usually dedicate to this employment. This may not be strictly right; but it is the only business which occupies me—if business it may be called. I can however tell you—what the world will not perhaps give me credit for, and what the detestation of every thing like hypocrisy would prevent me declaring to them—that I rarely fail dedicating a part of this day to religious practices and serious meditation: nay, I will confess to you, that since my return to India I have read the Scriptures oftener, and with more attention, than ever I did before. No man can have a firmer conviction than I have, that they contain the doctrines of truth and immortality; that they alone teach true philosophy, and furnish the solid base of consolation in this life and of better expectations hereafter. I wish my practice were as regular as my belief, and that my past life had been as regular as my present; and I pray that future temptation may not be too great for my efforts. This avowal must give pleasure to you, who have so sincere an interest in my welfare.

"These reflections are suggested by the day: and they occur in health and sickness, amidst employments and diversions.

. . . .

"You are happy with your Julia;—and long may you continue so! Our fates are more correctly the dispensations of Providence; which, respecting us, are different. Let us hope that we may be both useful. You have a serious charge upon you—the care and protection of a flock, who look up to your example for imitation, and your instructions for knowledge. I have the care of a Nation upon my shoulders—at least a part of it—a great and important responsibility! Yet, happy shall I be to resign the charge, and become one of your flock. Whether that period will ever arrive, the Supreme Disposer of Events can only tell: but if it should, I hope that, whatever my intellectual capacity may be, you will not find me less advanced in moral or religious endowments than when I quitted you.

"Remember me affectionately to my sister and my young relations, and believe me

"Your sincere friend, and affectionate Brother."

"TO C. W. B. ROUS, ESQ.

"DEAR SIR— "Bengal, Feb. 22, 1789.

. . . .

"You are not, I think, likely to get more information on Zemindary rights. A despotic Government seldom thinks of the rights of its subjects, and still less of limiting its own prerogatives by defining them. Something might be gleaned from writers: but there is so much reading of what is absolutely necessary, that a man in business cannot find time to hunt out three grains of wheat amidst a bushel of chaff. My opinion is decided, that the Zemindars were the hereditary proprietors of the soil, but that the Sovereign claimed what portion of the rents he pleased. The Zemindars were thus far left at his mercy: but from Akbar to Aurungzebe the demands upon them are moderate. In all speculations regarding the Zemindars, you must be careful to distinguish Bengal from all other parts of the Empire. There was most certainly a difference in the practice and principles of Finance here. I believe I remarked to you before, that there is no confiding to transactions when Zemindars are mentioned. Dew translated *Aumil*, sometimes, *Zemindar;* and Gladwyn, who is in general accurate, makes *Zemindar* and *Buzourgur* synonymous, in a very important part of the "Ayeen Akbary."

"Mr. Grant's* chief foundation for his *Rubba*, or "Fourth," arises from mistaking *Rubba* for *Reia* produce; although the Tables, which follow the passage where the word is mentioned, shew the proportion to be in One-third. I compared four copies of the "Ayeen Akbary," and found *Reia* in all. The merit of his production is certainly great; but so obscured by his style, that it requires more penetration and attention than I can give to it, to discover his meaning.

. . . .

"I shall request Captain Smith of the 'Dubton' to take charge of a volume of our Transactions here. . . . . I was an original Member of the Society, but am now an honorary one; *i.e.* honoured with belonging to it. Sir William Jones is the *vis vitæ* of the Society; and when he leaves it, it will become a *caput mortuum*.

"I am, my Dear Sir, your very sincere
"and obedient humble servant."

"TO RICHARD WYATT, ESQ.

"MY DEAR SIR— "Bengal, Feb. 22, 1789.

. . . .

"I thank you for your Letter; which has given me a better account of Mr. Hastings's situation than

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* Mr. J. Grant.

I had before received. Whatever his public conduct may be, I can safely offer you my opinion of his private character—that I never knew a man in my life who possessed more active virtues. He has talents also for every thing—for science as well as amusement; and all, who had had the opportunity of personally knowing him, love and esteem him. So far from being fond of money, he appears to me the most indifferent man I ever saw with regard to it—imprudently so indeed! That there is, and ever will be, peculation in India, is only saying it is not a desert; for where men are, some knaves will be found: but there is as much virtue, principle, and active zeal here, as in any part of the world. The Company, until lately, considered mankind in a new light. They placed their Servants at a feast, where they were starving, and told them to help all but themselves. Tigers, according to the fable, are wiser; for though they take their own share, they leave something to their provider. People in England disdain patronage, but expect their *protégées* should reap the benefit of it: they condemn giving away sinecures, whilst the relations of the possessor thank the attention which has bestowed it. *De cæteris idem.*

. . . .

"Your affectionate humble servant."

"TO N. SMITH, ESQ.

"SIR— "Aug. 1789.

. . . .

"In nothing, perhaps, has the success of Lord Cornwallis's Administration been more apparent than in his political conduct. If you will revert to the embarrassed scene of politics in which we were plunged on his arrival, and compare the present system with it, you will find plain dealing substituted for intricate negociation, confidence for uncertainty, and reputation for a doubtful name. The ambition and animosity of Tippoo have been checked and concealed—the Mahrattas find in our moderation the prospect of an useful alliance—the Nizam has surrendered what we claimed—Sindiah continues our friend—and the Berar Rajah is well disposed towards us. Nothing has been sacrificed to accomplish these objects; and the British Government holds the balance of power in India.

"That we have not neglected internal arrangements, you have received many proofs; and I have at last completed a Plan for the permanent Settlement of the Revenues. I know not whether you will receive it by the 'Swallow,' as it has not yet been deliberated upon at the Board. Many an hour of anxiety I spent in forming it; and after all, perhaps, it may disappoint public expectation. If pains, zeal and assiduity could accomplish the object proposed in it, no part could be incomplete; but indisposition cannot be controlled; and a mind exhausted by business will find its powers sometimes deficient.

. . . .

"I am, my Dear Sir,
"Your obliged and very sincere humble servant."

"TO THE RIGHT HON. HENRY DUNDAS.

"SIR— "Bengal, Aug. 10, 1789.

. . . .

"The detail of business, under the Bengal Government, will ever be laborious; but a system has been established by Lord Cornwallis which renders the detail less difficult than it was. The arrangements in the different departments and offices begin to acquire stability—the duty of each is defined—and checks and restrictions have been imposed against innovations as well as abuses. Pretences are never wanting for alterations, under the specious form of amendments; but they are disregarded. Responsibility and trust are everywhere united; and the recompence is proportioned to them. Whilst Lord Cornwallis remains, I may venture to assert that alterations will be resisted; and I hope his successor, whoever he may be, will be more ready to improve the existing system than to introduce a new one. One year of indolence, incapacity, or irresolution, would undo what has been accomplished with so much labour and sacrifice of private feeling. Innovations also alarm the natives, and give scope to their talents for intrigue.

. . . .

"I have the honour to be,
"Honourable Sir,
"Your most obliged and obedient
"humble servant."

CHAPTER VII.

PERMANENT SETTLEMENT OF THE REVENUES—ORIENTAL PURSUITS.

In the summer of 1789, Mr. Shore completed the arduous task, the execution of which had occupied every hour that he could rescue from languor, sickness, and the ordinary routine of official duties —the preparation of the Decennial, or, as it proved, the Permanent Settlement of the Revenues of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa—a measure affecting the property, and involving the multifarious and conflicting rights and privileges of a population then amounting to nearly forty millions, including the inhabitants of the comparatively small portion of the territories in the Madras Presidency, to which it was subsequently extended. The extreme difficulty of effecting the proposed arrangement may be inferred from the failure of previous attempts to accomplish it, during the twenty-four years in which the revenues of the Three Provinces had been possessed by the East-India Company; whilst it required practical knowledge, which was wanting to the Company's Servants in consequence of their having been withdrawn by Mr. Hastings from the immediate collection of the revenues. The execution of it rested chiefly on Mr. Shore's abilities and experience; to which honourable testimony has been borne by Lord Cornwallis, and by the Fifth Parliamentary Report on East-Indian Affairs, which distinctly states that his "ability and experience, in supplying the deficiency of the Servants of the Company in the knowledge of the rights and usages of the different orders of people connected with the Revenues, enabled the Government to carry its projected measures into effect."

The first talents in the Company's Service, both in England and India, had been during some years employed in considering a grand fundamental question, the determination of which was essential to any ulterior settlement. It referred to the Proprietorship of the lands to be assessed; which had been variously assigned to the Sovereign, to the Ryots or immediate cultivators of the soil, or to an intermediate class, the Zemindars. Mr. Shore's opinions on the subject are recorded in a voluminous Minute, supported by a considerable body of Authorities and of evidence, the result of his inquiries. In this document, he traces the Proprietary right of the Zemindars to the reign of Akbar, contemporaneous with Queen Elizabeth. He states, that at that period the Zemindars enjoyed the hereditary management of lands, paying the rents to the Sovereign, with the reservation of a portion for their own subsistence; that they were looked up to by the Ryots, as their hereditary patrons and governors, and proprietors of the soil within their jurisdiction; and were proverbially acknowledged to preserve these rights, according to the ancient saying, that 'The land belonged to the Zemindars, and the rent to the King';—and, that they were, moreover, numerous, rich, and powerful.

He contends, that the Proprietary right of the Zemindars had been never subsequently annulled; but, on the contrary, ratified by uninterrupted usage, during a period including twenty-five years of British sway. As the Zemindars probably existed before the Mahomedan rule, he conjectures that the invaders employed them, as their agents, in the collection of the revenues; guaranteeing their hereditary rights by a grant of investiture (*Sunnud*); whilst the Sunnud, inasmuch as it was never conferred on aliens, so far from invalidating, confirmed those rights, and conveyed, by lapse of time, a property in the soil, even though it had not been originally possessed. He maintains, that the condition of exercising a limited jurisdiction, and other services, could not affect the rights to which it was annexed; and that no objection to the Zemindary claims could be grounded on the grants of rent-free land (*altumga*), because they were invariably recognised by these instruments.

The conclusion in favour of the Proprietary rights of the Zemindars, adopted by Mr. Shore, was ratified by our Governments at Home and in India, and became the basis of the Permanent Settlement*.

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* The above decision has been much disputed; and the defects in the Permanent Settlement have been by many attributed to it. The assessment, say its impugners, who are chiefly of the Madras Presidency, should have been made with the Ryots, and founded on the separate measurement of each field. But to this plan have been objected, its inapplicability to Bengal, and the failure of the attempts made to introduce it into that Presidency—the fact, that the condition of the cultivators of the soil has not been improved by it—and the inadequacy of our Agency to carry into effect its minute and laborious details. Both the Fifth and Sixth Reports of the Select Committee of the House of Commons concur in condemning the course pursued by the Government. The former was drawn up notoriously under the prepossessions against the rights of the Zemindars entertained in the Presidency of Madras, where only two sorts of Zemindars are known—those of the North Circars, who corresponded with the Lords-Lieutenant of Counties, or rather Highland Chieftains—and the Village Zemindars, the creatures of the Madras Government, whom the Ryots regarded as their equals or inferiors. Sir Thomas Munro's opinion is derived exclusively from the same source; as that eminent individual had no practical knowledge of Bengal. The conclusion stated in the Sixth Report is not borne out by the evidence appended to it; the general tenor of which is opposed to it, though very different opinions are entertained by the witnesses as to the Proprietary right of the Zemindars.

The limits of this work admit of but a brief review of his very voluminous Minutes on this subject. The principal of them (June 18, 1789) is stated, in the Fifth Parliamentary Report, "to contain information derived from experience and diligent research, in regard to the condition and character of the Natives of India, the past and present state of the country, and the laws and practices of the Mogul Government; which may at all times be referred to with advantage, as an authentic and valuable Record."

The amount of the Assessment, and the best method of collecting it, form the principal subjects of this important document. The author deduces the former from a review of the financial history of Bengal, from the first recorded Settlement of the Revenues under Akbar, in 1582. He recommends that it should be moderate; grounded on an estimate, intermediate between that proposed by Mr. Francis, and that elaborately worked out by Mr. J. Grant in his Analysis of the Finances of Bengal; the fallacies of which he points out*.

Animadverting on the proposition for assessment by local minute investigation, he observes:—

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* It is inserted in the Appendix to the Fifth Parliamentary Report.

"There is no country in the world, I believe, where the Officers of Government devote more time and attention to the discharge of public business than in Bengal. The official duties are inconceivably laborious, to those who perform them with zeal and assiduity—an assertion which the Public Records will prove. But there are limits to industry, and bounds to exertion. If too much be attempted, matters of great importance must be neglected. The controul of the Board of Revenue over the Collectors, and that of the Supreme Power over them and all other departments, will alike prove ineffective, if their attention be dissipated in the minutiæ of detail."

Reiterating his former arguments in favour of the Proprietary right of the Zemindars, he recommends, that, on account of their almost universal incapacity and corruption, the rights of the inferior cultivators (Ryots) should be secured:—

"Our Administration has heretofore been fluctuating and uncertain: an idea of improvement has been hastily adopted, unsteadily pursued, and afterwards abandoned from a supposed defect in principle: new measures have been substituted, followed, and relinquished, with the same facility: and the Natives, from these variations, with every succession of men expect a change of system.

"Measures in the detail must always be subject to variation, from local circumstances and contingencies, which no foresight can provide against; but principles should be fixed, if possible.

"The fluctuation in the Members of Government, as well as in the Officers employed in the subordinate departments, renders the establishment of principles indispensably necessary; for, as experience cannot be transmitted with offices, the discretion of the Agents will never cease to operate in the expectation of real or fancied improvement, unless it be restrained by rule. The characters of individuals, even where the same system is pursued, must have a considerable influence upon the success of it; but where no system is established, the evils far exceed the partial benefits resulting from the talents, knowledge, and zeal of a few."

. . . .

"The skill and success which the Natives display in applying to the defects of our personal characters, and in rendering them subservient to their own views and interests, are well known: what one man refuses, another is disposed to grant: the system rejected to-day is again brought forward, with new arguments in support of it, at another period: what has been once tried, and found to fail, is again revived, under plausible reasons assigned for its failure. They study our dispositions, inclinations, aversions, enmities, and friendships; and, with the cool caution so familiar to them, seize the favourable opportunity to introduce propositions for new systems and measures, or for reviving those which have been exploded. With the most upright intentions, our caution and experience are liable to be misled. But experience is not the lot of all; and the judgment will often yield to the suggester or adviser, where it ought to be guided only by the propriety of the measure suggested or proposed. In the stability of system alone we must look for a remedy against evils which can never be thoroughly eradicated or corrected: and this consideration is, with me, of the greatest importance."

. . . .

"We are however to remember, that we mean now to establish a principle of giving confidence to our subjects, and of correcting the evils resulting from fluctuating measures—to convince them of our moderation, and, by that and by firmness, to shew them, that whilst we exact what we deem ourselves fairly entitled to demand, we are equally disposed not to enhance those demands beyond their ability to discharge them; and that the object of this system is, to put an end to those intrigues, which they have sometimes been forced into, although they have oftener adopted them from habit. We must therefore take care not to clog the principle with difficulties and embarrassment that shall suppress its operation, and more particularly in the article of the amount of the assessment; since I fear that in other instances we shall be under the necessity of adopting measures which, however intended for the public good, may wear a different complexion."

. . . .

"If the object of our present deliberations were only to obtain the highest possible *Jumma* (Assessment), without regard to the permanency of our arrangements, we should then relinquish the principle of concluding engagements with the Zemindars altogether, and attempt to secure it by other modes."

In his Minute of Sept. 18, Mr. Shore, after having weighed the objections to the introduction of the Settlement into the Province of Behar on account of the number and poverty of its Zemindars, recommends that the Settlement should be fixed for *ten years certain.* This suggestion produced a protracted controversy between the Governor-General and himself. Mr. Shore urged, that the proposed limitation of the Settlement would not diminish the confidence of the Zemindars, or induce the neglect or desolation of the land—that, to people who had subsisted on annual expedients, a period of ten years was nearly equal in estimate to perpetuity *—that their own interest at the commencement of the term, and their confidence in the stability and advantages of the system towards its close, would induce the necessary exertion on the part of the Zemindars;—that, in corroboration of this reasoning, might be instanced the fact, that the cultivation of Bengal had progressively increased, under all the disadvantages of variable assessments and personal charges;—that the Court of Directors, from whose opinion he little differed, held that the idea of a definite term would be more pleasing to the Natives than a dubious perpetuity;—that inexperience of the working of the proposed system, and the necessity of adjusting the complicated rights of the Government, of the Zemindars, and of the Ryots, and of correcting, by new Regulations, the inequalities of produce resulting from various causes, such as droughts and inundations, afforded cogent reasons or deferring the proclamation of the Permanent Settlement. And he suggested, that the intermediate time should be employed in giving confidence to the Zemindars by appropriate measures; and, that after four or five years, during which period the Zemindars would be induced by self-interest to cultivate their land, the Settlement might be declared permanent.

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* In corroboration of Mr. Shore's view, Sir John Anstruther, Chief Justice of Bengal, writes thus to Marquis Wellesley, in August 1800:—"The constant change of plan and system in the Collection of the Revenues had impressed the minds of the people with the idea of the instability of any system whatever; nor could they be convinced that the Perpetual Settlement ever would take place. They said, that it was introduced by Lord Cornwallis; and would last while Sir J. Shore staid, as he was at the Board when it began: but that a new Governor would arrive, with a new project. The reasoning was not ill founded."—*Despatches of Marquis Wellesley*, III. 371.

On the other hand it was maintained by Lord Cornwallis, that the limitation of the Settlement would destroy the confidence of the Zemindars, and produce neglect of cultivation and desolation—that the losses by drought and inundation would, under a Permanent Settlement, induce the Zemindars to avail themselves of the great fertility of the soil to make up the deficiency by renewed industry—that the habit which the Zemindars had fallen into, of subsisting by annual expedients, had originated, not in any constitutional imperfection in the people themselves, but in the fluctuating measures of Government; and that he could not therefore admit that a period of ten years would be considered by the generality of people as a term nearly equal in estimate to perpetuity;—that, at the conclusion of ten years, the Company's Servants would not be better, and perhaps not so well qualified to carry into effect a permanent arrangement; and that the immediate adoption of the measure would not prevent the rectification of inequalities, errors, and abuses, and the adjustment of relative rights. The Governor-General eulogizes Mr. Shore's merits; and whilst he adverts to the only differences which had interrupted the general harmony of the views entertained by himself and his Colleague in the Administration of Public Affairs, concludes the controversy in terms worthy of his generous and patriotic spirit:"—

> "The great ability displayed in Mr. Shore's Minute which introduced the propositions for the Settlement—the uncommon knowledge which he has manifested of every part of the Revenue System of this country—the liberality and fairness of his arguments, and clearness of his style—give me an opportunity (which my personal

esteem and regard for him, and the obligation I owe him as a public man for his powerful assistance in every branch of the business of this Government, must ever render peculiarly gratifying to me) of recording my highest respect for his talents, my warmest sense of his public-spirited principles, which, in an impaired state of health, could alone have supported him in executing a work of such extraordinary labour; and lastly, my general approbation of the greatest part of his Plan."

. . . .

"After having experienced so much advantage from the able and almost uniform support that I have received from Mr. Shore, during a period of near three years, it would have been particularly gratifying to me if we could have avoided to record different opinions, at the moment of our separation: but a regard to the due discharge of public duty must supersede all other considerations; and I have at least the satisfaction to be certain, that no private motives have influence with either of us; and that a sense of our duty alone has occasioned the few exceptions that have arisen to that general concurrence which there will appear to have been in our sentiments, on almost all points relating to the Public business."

. . . .

"The interests of the Nation, as well as the Company, and the happiness and prosperity of our subjects in this country, are deeply concerned in the points on which we differ: and as the public good is our only object, I am persuaded that it is equally our wish that the final decision may be such as will most effectually promote it."

Lord Cornwallis's decision on the important question of the Permanency of the Settlement was influenced by a reason not avowed in his able Minutes. He had learned, from the past history of India, the evils resulting from the perpetual fluctuations of system produced by changes in the component Members of the Administration: and he frankly avowed to Mr. Shore, that he would willingly have yielded his opinion, could security against the interposition of adverse influence have been furnished, by the continuance of the reins of Government either in his own hands or in those of Mr. Shore, till the expiration of the decennial term. The Directors of the East-India Company ratified the Governor-General's proposition; qualifying their adoption of it by provisions, guaranteeing to themselves a share in the profits arising from an expected increase of cultivation, and the right of modifying it by any Regulations necessary to the protection of the Ryots.

The lapse of nearly half a century since the proclamation of the Permanent Settlement in 1793 has afforded ample opportunity of testing the opposite opinions entertained at that period respecting it. The results of the measure have been, an increase of revenue, unextorted by excessive assessment;—in regard to the Zemindars, notwithstanding their temporary losses, and transfer of property occasioned by the unequal operation of the laws for the collection of the revenue, and more durable mischief arising from their own habitual incapacity or misconduct, the maintenance of a class of proprietors capable of being by degrees employed, in conformity to the suggestions of Sir Henry Strachey and other enlightened Indian Authorities, in the functions of Government;—and in reference to the Ryots, a limited improvement in their condition; which might have been much more effectual, had the delay proposed by Mr. Shore supplied better means of ascertaining, defining, and recording their rights; to the imperfect settlement of which their continued grievances are very generally attributed.

We now revert from the detail—uninteresting, as it is to be feared, to the general reader—of proceedings, which, independently of their historical importance, considerably advanced Mr. Shore's reputation, and produced his subsequent rise in the Service—to the traces of the sentiments of his retired moments, and of the pursuits which cheered and solaced his spirits, jaded by harassing toil, frequently-recurring illness, and prolonged separation from his family. These are partly interspersed in his Correspondence; extracts of which are selected in chronological order.

"TO MRS. SHORE.

"MY DEAR CHARLOTTE— "May 12, 1789.

. . . .

"You know the happiness of having good and affectionate parents. My father I only remembered when he was infirm, exhausted with sickness, and borne down with fatigue. But I recollect the tenderness of my mother's affection for him, and her misery when he was released from his sufferings. Many a tear did the memory of his death draw from her, for years following. Never will her maternal affection be obliterated from my memory; and I often now reproach myself that I did not, when I was in England, offer my sighs at her tomb*. Her tenderness for her children was unbounded; but prudence and judgment tempered the exercise of it. How many conveniences did she not sacrifice for mine and my brother's welfare! It was the hope of my life to comfort her declining age, and return those cares she had bestowed upon me: but Providence doomed it otherwise.—Blessed parent! let thy memory cheer my heart, to foster that virtue that thy precepts inspired! You are now a mother, my Charlotte; and such as mine was, I trust you will be!

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* In Lambourn Church-yard, Essex; where Lord Teignmouth's father is buried, in a vault with his two wives.

. . . .

"Man! what art thou?—the child of discontent, the tool of passions, the butt of misery!—When possessing every means of happiness, thou still pinest for something unpossessed—whilst rioting in the midst of bliss, thou still rejectest the present joy for uncertain expectation. Then, when repentance comes with toil, thou lamentest, like a child, the loss of that which, when possessed, appeared depreciated. For what end has Heaven endowed thee with reason, but to curb the licentiousness of unbounded expectation?—and, when sensible of this, why dost thou not correct thy follies?—Human nature is a paradox, that its Author only can solve. Oh, may that Author of my existence teach me to correct passion by reason, and to thank Him with the best of thanksgivings—a contented heart for what He has bestowed!"

. . . .

[In the following passage he supposes REASON suggesting to him an antidote to these melancholy thoughts, principally produced by indisposition.—His reflections are thus noted down in his Epistolary Journal, as they occur:—]

. . . .

" 'Placed by fortune in a situation to which thousands of superior birth and connections look up with envy, why do you suffer melancholy to prey upon you? Possessed of all the conveniences of this life, happy in the esteem of your friends and partiality of the public opinion, why do you turn from the enjoyments of the present hour to scenes of misery and distress? Have you no public cares to attract your attention—no duties to demand your application? Has not Providence imposed upon you the care of millions, and entrusted you with the interest of your own nation? Are not your present labours necessary for your future happiness—for that of her which you value beyond your own? If the future is hid from your view, has not Heaven opened to mortality the Book of Hope?—and does not Hope offer you a reasonable expectation of being happy in the last years of your allotted existence? Suppress for shame these cowardly suggestions of despair! and let Religion teach you, that to be discontented with your present lot is to murmur at the dispensations of Providence. If happiness can be promoted by comparison, what reason hast thou to repine? For what was reason bestowed upon you, but to inspire you with gratitude for present blessings, and to arm you against the suggestions of despair? Reason, Honour, and Religion, all unite to dissolve the phantoms of ideal misery that surround you. Know that these murmurs are recorded; and that He who penetrates your heart will exact contrition for all its repinings.

Let this consideration alarm, animate, and console you.' "

. . . .

"I have lately perused Dr. Jortin's Sermons; and admired them for their precision, solidity, impartiality, and piety. He has excelled most Divines that I have met with in establishing Faith on the solid foundation of Reason, and has widened the basis of Christian belief: yet he does not write merely to the understanding, but interests the affections of the heart. 'The morality of the Gospel is written with a sunbeam,' is an expression of his, as sublime and affecting as it is true. I hope neither passion nor habit will make me forget the lessons which he has given. The little time which I can dedicate to reading is employed in serious authors. Novels I seldom read, except when I am so much out of order as not to be able to attend to better authors. Nothing indeed is more pernicious to the intellect than the habit of reading Novels, or what is called 'light reading'; which, in other words, is to read without thinking—to employ the eyes, and not the understanding. Something must be allowed for amusement: and Novels may be occasionally resorted to, as a relaxation from the exercise of our reasoning powers. Danger, however, attends them; for they so seldom describe men or women as they are—they introduce us to scenes of depravity, of which it is better for us ever to remain ignorant—describe the fashionable modes of life, where gallantry, indolence, and dissipation prevail, in colours so pleasing, and inflame our passions by animated descriptions of vicious enjoyments—that the moral at the tail of them, which shews innocence protected and vice punished, makes a faint impression on the understanding, whilst the heart retains descriptions it ought to guard against. Smollet's Novels—'Peregrine Pickle,' 'Roderick Random,' 'Ferdinand Count Fathom,' are, on this account, exceptionable. His 'Humphrey Clinker' and 'Launcelot Greaves' are less so; and the former may amuse, without doing harm. The mind so far resembles the body, that it requires exercise to strengthen it. We know with moral certainty the effect of habit upon us; and hence we may conclude that serious occupations will soon induce serious habits; and that, after reading good authors, we shall find little pleasure in perusing those of the character which I have mentioned.

. . . .

"This is, as usual, Sunday: and I have past the morning in writing to you and to my brother, and in reading over one-third of Bishop Butler's Analogy, a book my brother first recommended to me in England.

"You will easily conceive that my current avocations leave me little time for perusing my books; yet I find opportunity for my amusement, and sometimes, I hope, for my improvement. Blair's Sermons I often read, before I go to bed, with much satisfaction; for I admire his style greatly; and I have always been of opinion that good doctrine has a much greater effect when delivered in an elegant discourse. One of the two Chaplains at the Presidency is a man of great learning, and very general knowledge: you find it in his preaching. The other has neither; and his sermons have been prescribed to me*, as remedies against the watchfulness that disorders me. They are both men of respectable moral character, and usually with me on this day. On Christmas-day, I was at Church.—Perhaps I may sometimes pass Sunday as rationally and religiously as those that constantly attend it.

"Our church here has lately been built. It was begun at first by subscription. A Pagan gave the ground—all characters subscribed—lotteries, confiscations, donations received contrary to law, have been employed in completing it. The Company have contributed but little;—no great proof that they think the morals of their Servants connected with their religion.

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* By the Governor-General.

"Few, very few indeed, if candid, will deny their attachment to the gratifications of this world, in preference to the duties of Religion:—and what is this, but in reality loving an earthly treasure more than a heavenly one? Yet it is possible, in my opinion, to have enjoyments in this life sufficient for all reasonable men, without infringing the laws which our primary duty teaches us we ought to obey. To a heart not corrupted, benevolence and charity afford a gratification superior to all human delights. Temperance, mercy, and humility, are virtues, the exercise of which are as essential to our health of body as of mind, and which bestows its own reward. These are the dictates of Christianity; nor are other pleasures, of a less-refined nature, forbid. The limits of them are fixed by a divine prescription; and these we must not exceed; nor can we, indeed, without destroying the very basis of that happiness which we find in indulgence for a term. . . . . . The solemn dictates of Religion, and the example of our Saviour's humility—an example which the world never saw before or since—has, I hope, had some influence upon my mind. . . . . . . To suppose a lot of life wholly without care, is to suppose what none has yet experienced. Imagination may describe a landscape of beautiful objects, where all is blooming, cheerful, and serene; but time and humanity will chequer the scene with passing clouds. Much is in the power of every one: and the first step to happiness is to be reasonable in our expectations. Dr. Johnson has justly observed, that happiness or misery in this life is rather the result of petty inconveniences or accidents, than the effect of great events. Few are subject to great cares, or misfortunes of the deepest dye. In a married state, the minutest things deserve attention;—dress, habits, amusements, conversation, are all to be observed. In common life, we feel disgust at a variety of trifles, which are apparently of no importance, and such as it would seem fastidious to particularise. But a husband and wife should apply these remarks to themselves; and not suppose, because good-nature or a wish to be pleased causes them to be overlooked, that they are the less disgusting. I hope to benefit by these reflections, and to practise the lesson they teach, whenever we meet. You have no occasion for them.

. . . .

"I do not neglect the employment which you have adopted—that of examining the conduct of my married friends, with a view to my own improvement. The points which we are more inclined to neglect, are trifles; for disgust is often excited by circumstances apparently trivial, than by others of a more important nature. Temper and sense secure married people from the commission of gross improprieties, but not always from petty inaccuracies. The way to improve, is, when we see a conduct which we dislike, to catechize ourselves, whether we are not guilty of the same, or something else as bad: and when we observe what is commendable, to reflect if we possess it, or have the means of obtaining it. The common error in which married people risk their happiness, is a slovenly familiarity; as if delicacy were to be neglected between two people who are united for 'better and worse.' "

The writer of the following observations will be considered no incompetent judge of the climate of Bengal.

" *May* 24.—Bengal is really not an unhealthy climate, although it disagrees with my constitution. Of a tontine of more than a hundred subscribers of various ages and constitutions, formed upon a principle of survivorship, not one member died in the course of three years. I doubt if any climate in the world could exhibit a stronger proof of a salubrious air. The natives in general are not long-lived: the period of maturity is much earlier in hot than in cold climates, and that of dissolution of course is speedier; besides, they exhaust themselves by excesses. Yet I have known one who was above 120 years of age; and now am acquainted with a man who never tasted meat or wine in his life, who has past the whole of it in studious occupations, and is at this time 84 years of age—robust, healthy, and in full possession of his faculties, but his sight, which is rather dim. The character of unhealthiness, which is attributed to Bengal, seems rather to have arisen from our own inexperience and improper mode of living, than to be well founded. In fact, Calcutta was formerly ill-drained, less airy, than at present; our houses more incommodious; our provisions worse; and our irregularities greater. Since these imperfections have been altered, the health of the inhabitants is proportionably improved.

“Drinking hard was some years ago fashionable; but at present there are few instances of it. We are become more rational, temperate, and less subject to indisposition. One half of the disorders in Europe are unknown in India; and putrid fevers, which are supposed to be frequent here, scarcely occur once in two years: indeed, more die in London of putrid complaints in one year than in twenty in Calcutta. But experience also proves that our constitutions are ill adapted to struggle with the climate, under the pressure of close and constant application to business. Few men, who are industrious and in office, devote less than six hours a day to business of a sedentary nature; and the body and mind, particularly when the last is active, are in time worn out."

The readers of the "Memoirs of the Life of Sir Wm. Jones" need not be reminded of the intimate friendship which at this time subsisted between that illustrious Scholar and his future Biographer, and of the unabated interest evinced by Mr. Shore in pursuits from which the pressure of public business in a great measure debarred him. During the last and most laborious year of this period of his residence in India, amid the turmoil of employments most uncongenial to poetical feelings, he soothed the weary hours of sickness by commencing and completing the greater part of a Poem, entitled "The Wanderer"; the plan of which was suggested by the painful circumstances of his separation from his country and kindred; but embraces, as it proceeds, the results of his Oriental Researches, and especially the sublime mysteries of that Metaphysical Theology which he had laboriously investigated in the Translation of the Jôg Bashust. It would be idle to trace the flight of his Muse through regions which have been explored by a bolder and less-encumbered wing. That her freshness was unimpaired, and her vigour still salient though chastened, is evinced by several passages;

amongst which may be selected the following description of Bremh, or Bramha, the Creative Energy of the Deity, or Deity itself of Brahminical Hindooism :—

> In Bliss, where rapt devotion never stray'd—
> In Light, impervious as the midnight shade—
> Eternal, Infinite, All-wise, alone,
> From man conceal'd, and e'en by gods unknown,
> Bremh, purest Essence, to no form confin'd,
> Dwells, and contemplates his exhaustless mind.
> He will'd—Creation rose by measur'd laws;
> Himself, the Maker, work effect and cause;
> Though varied, ONE; though single, ALL; reveal'd
> In endless modes, in every mode conceal'd.
> Sole Source of Being! Whence, in constant tide,
> Perception's living emanations glide;
> Of Nature organiz'd, the immortal soul,
> That warms, inspires, dilates, impels the whole.
> In matter veil'd, not mix'd, this vital fire,
> Amidst the gloom of passion, sense, desire,
> Unconscious burns; till, freed from carnal ties,
> Elastic, glowing to its source it flies.

An allusion to the author of the "Ten Hymns to the Hindoo Deities" was introduced into the Poem, when it was completed in 1807:—

> One Western Bard alone, with hardier course,
> Soars with the Hindoo Sage to Nature's source:
> Vers'd in His lore, the mystic fount he drains,
> And all Vashesti fires his lyric strains.

Some stanzas, composed by Mr. Shore at this time, were inserted in a Note to the "Memoirs of Sir W. Jones," and have appeared in divers Collections:—

PHILEMON—AN ELEGY.

Where shade yon yews the churchyard's lonely bourn,
With faltering step, absorb'd in thought profound,
Philemon wends, in solitude to mourn,
While Evening pours her deep'ning glooms around.

Loud shrieks the blast, the sleety torrent drives,
Wide spreads the tempest's desolating power;
To grief alone Philemon reckless lives;
No rolling peal he heeds, cold blast, nor shower.

For this the date that stampt his partner's doom,
His trembling lips received her latest breath:
"Ah! wilt thou drop one tear on Emma's tomb?"
She cried;—and clos'd each wistful eye in death.

No sighs he breath'd, for anguish rived his breast;
Her clay-cold hand he grasp'd; no tears he shed;
Till fainting Nature sunk, by grief oppress'd;
And ere distraction came, all sense was fled.

Now time has calm'd, not cur'd, Philemon's woe;
For grief like his, life-woven, never dies;
And still each year's collected sorrows flow,
As drooping o'er his Emma's tomb he sighs.

CHAPTER VIII.

RETURN TO ENGLAND—EXAMINATION ON MR. HASTINGS'S TRIAL—LIVES IN RETIREMENT — APPOINTED GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF INDIA — CREATED A BARONET—HIS NOMINATION OPPOSED BY MR. BURKE—SAILS FOR INDIA.

Mr. Shore having completed the preparation of the Permanent Settlement of the Revenues, embarked for England in Dec. 1789; and reached his native shore with health much improved by his voyage.

"TO EARL CORNWALLIS.

"MY LORD— "London, May 5, 1790.

"I had the honour to address you from St. Helena, acquainting you of my arrival at that place in the beginning of March. The remainder of our passage was prosperous. I landed at Portsmouth on the 24th of April; and the next day had the happiness to find Mrs. Shore and my daughter in health.

"I have been in town since the 30th of April, and have been employed in ceremonial visits. Mr. Pitt has been so much occupied with the Parliamentary business, and the Indian Budget, brought on again yesterday by Mr. Dundas, that I have not yet seen him; but am appointed to wait upon him to-morrow. Mr. Dundas I found in good health and spirits, and all parties satisfied with the peaceful exertions of your Lordship. I was also particularly happy to learn that a successor had been appointed*; and that General Meadows, for whom you entertain so high an esteem, was the person; as I am certain that he will promote the reform which you have so happily established. It was not without some dissatisfaction I observed a doubt generally to prevail of the abilities of General Meadows, and I sincerely hope that his conduct will remove it. The reliance is upon his known probity, and high sense of honour; but of his talents for business there is a general suspicion prevailing. I can give you little information as to public events, which you will learn better from others who are more acquainted with them. The trial of Mr. Hastings is still going on, but the progress is slow. Objections are continually made by his Counsel to the evidence adduced; and in discussing them, and in reference to the Judges, days are lost. The prevailing idea is, that the prosecution, if continued under a new Parliament, will not be terminated for some years. I have not yet seen him; but I hear his spirits are unaffected.

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* To the Government of Madras.

"My principal motive in addressing your Lordship is, to return you my acknowledgments for the testimony you have so repeatedly borne to my public conduct. In the retired line of life I mean to pursue, and which my fortune as well as inclination dictates, I shall scarcely have the honour of seeing you again; but I shall ever reflect with pleasure on the chance which first made me acquainted with you, and introduced me to a knowledge of those virtues which your Lordship is allowed by all to possess.

"I sincerely hope that you may leave the country you now inhabit with a constitution unimpaired; and that you may return in safety to your friends in this.

"I have the honour to be
"Your Lordship's very faithful
obedient humble servant."

Mr. Shore met with a flattering reception from all parties in England. It was proposed to confer on him a Baronetcy, in reward of his services; but he declined the proffered honour, alleging privately as his motive, "the incompatibility of poverty and titles." Soon after his arrival, he appeared in Westminster Hall as a witness on Mr. Hastings's trial. The questions put to him related chiefly to the transactions of the Board of Revenue. He denied having aided Mr. Hastings in his defence, except by supplying him with some Revenue Minutes: and being asked whether he would continue the friend of Mr. Hastings, if he believed him to be corrupt and mercenary, he replied emphatically, but temperately, "I hope I should not."

Mr. Shore fixed his residence, during a year, at Egham in Surrey, attracted by old and cherished associations, and by the neighbourhood of his connections, the Wyatts of Milton Place. The income on which he now settled, as he proposed for life, was 900*l.* per annum. His services during the entire period of his holding a seat in the Supreme Council had added to it only 100*l.* per annum; nearly the half of which sum he owed to the considerate kindness of Lord Cornwallis, at whose solicitation he had received the grant already mentioned. Inattention to economy, and generosity ever ready to assist the distressed, account for the little permanent advantage he had derived from a salary amounting to 10,000*l.* per annum.

"TO DR. CORNISH.

"MY DEAR SIR— "Egham, June 27, 1790.

. . . .

"The dissolution of Parliament has called off the dogs from Bear Hastings. Whether the trial will ever be resumed, is doubtful; and if resumed, I am clearly of opinion that it will never be brought to a decision. Messrs. Burke and Francis will go on without a probable chance of proving the charges. The former is mad: the latter, malicious and revengeful. Madness and malice are beyond the operations of reason. The community attend the Court as they would an Opera, and with an equal degree of feeling.

. . . .

"I am your very affectionate Brother."

"TO RICHARD GOODLAD, ESQ.

"DEAR DICK— "Egham, Jan. 13, 1791.

. . . .

"Fortune befriended me in an uncommon manner, when I determined to embark in the 'Bainbridge;' for I could not, with any degree of propriety, have left the country after the knowledge of Tippoo's hostilities: and I am most thoroughly convinced, if my life had held out during another year, my constitution would have irretrievably suffered. Since my arrival in England, I have been gradually recovering: but I did not feel the effects of the climate so immediately beneficial as I did upon my return in 1785. At present, I am perfectly well; and have gained the flesh which I had lost, with a new stock of spirits.

. . . .

"I shall pass but very few days in London this winter; for, putting all other considerations aside, I find more happiness at my own fire-side than any where out of doors. I have seen but one play since my arrival in England; and that was during the course of this month.

"The debates and the disputes in India are very uninteresting to me in England; excepting that I am sorry to find a difference between people I so much esteem. I wish well to the country; and should receive any accounts of misfortune to it with real concern, as I should of its prosperity with real satisfaction: but as to the detail of business, I care little; and read no Minutes, unless obliged to give an opinion upon them. I am indeed a most perfectly idle man; and as happy as any one in England, with nothing to do. The day is never too long: on the contrary, I often find it too short. To write a Letter is almost as great a task as it was in Bengal for me to refrain from writing.

"Save what you can, Dick, and turn your thoughts seriously to England: and unless you possess these qualities in a greater degree than I suppose, you will find 2000*l.* per annum little enough for your wants, although mine are gratified with much less. The system of dissipation is daily improved; and Indians, from habit, inexperience, and indolence, contribute largely to its extension and increase. Let me recommend to you, therefore, whilst you are dealing so largely in salt, to reserve some for your own porridge.

"I have written to Frank*. God bless you! and believe me yours sincerely."

Mr. Shore employed much of his present leisure in general reading; and, among other works, he perused with delight Burke's just-published "Reflections on the French Revolution,"—a subject which occupied much of his thoughts: for he now clearly perceived the anarchical tendency of that great national movement; in which he had at first warmly sympathized, as necessary to the emancipation of the French people from a yoke of complicated oppression. And though he entertained no predilection for Mr. Burke, he hailed with joy the "lighting down of that arm" which had been lifted up to stay its revolutionary progress.

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* Francis Redfearn, Esq.

"TO DR. CORNISH.

"MY DEAR SIR— "Bath, Dec. 6, 1791.

. . . .

"I hope Apuleius's Golden Ass will prove a pleasant hobby to you. I have mounted him often; and he carries me most delightfully. The loves of Cupid and Psyche, in the 4th, 5th, and 6th Books, have so charmed me, that I have undertaken a translation of them, and have finished about half. I find very unusual phraseology, and some words which no Dictionary will explain; but the sense is sufficiently obvious, from the context. Your edition does not contain an Epigrammaton; which I will, some time or other, send you — as I have not room for it in this Letter — with the following curious Epitaph in Paddington Church-yard.

"EPITAPH ON A MISTRESS.

"*On the Upper Side.*

DIIS MANIBUS
ILLIUS
ILLIUS.

"*On the Reverse.*

DIIS MANIBUS
R. E.
PER UNDECIM HEU BREVES ANNOS
SINE VINCULO DEVINCTISSIMÆ
SINE SACRAMENTO SANCTISSIMÆ
UNIVARÆ, UNIPARÆ, UNANIMÆ,
COMPARES,
HUNC LAPIDEM
PERENNE PERENNIS DESIDERII
MONUMENTUM
PONIT SACRATQUE
NON TOTUS SUPERSTES
R. T.
M DCC XXXX.

. . . .

"I see nothing to despair in the news from India;—the substance of which is this: That Lord Cornwallis proceeded with uninterrupted success, and as little loss as could be expected; and would probably have taken Seringapatam, if the elements had not prevented him. I do not fear a glorious issue to the war;—and, as you say, the Company must be supported.

"Your affectionate Brother."

"TO A. CALDECOTT, ESQ.

"DEAR CALDECOTT— "Bath, Dec. 31, 1791.

"If I were not the most lazy of mortals, you would hear oftener from me:—and yet I can with truth assure you that I write as often to you as to any one. We are the creatures of habit; and I feel the influence of habitual indolence strong upon me. Business was formerly my pleasure;—and pleasure is now my business. Having little to do, I want resolution to do any thing. I do not, however, find my time heavy upon my hands. At home, I not only enjoy a happiness which few can boast, but have amusement with my children, when I am tired of hanging over my books, or other trifles; and am inclined to believe, that, although I want much of what the world esteems the *sine-quâ-non* of felicity, that I really enjoy as much as falls to the lot of most people. I removed from my situation at Egham in June last; and repaired to Bath, where I resided for six weeks; during the course of which I drank the waters with the greatest advantage to my health. This was still further improved by travelling near a thousand miles since my departure from Egham. I have been over great part of Devonshire, and to the western extremity of the island; and am once more at Bath, which I find to agree with me uncommonly well:—here I purpose spending the winter. As to my future residence or condition, it would puzzle the prophetic talents of Catterfelt, or the learned pig, to determine it. My separation from Indian politics or business is as wide as ever. I have served the Honourable Company so long for so little, that I will not serve them for nothing: and although I might easily intrude myself into work, I have no inclination to make the attempt, without some certainty of being paid for it.

"Sir Thomas Rumbold, I am told, but a few hours before his departure from this mortal bourne, declared that he repented of nothing but his acceptance of the title of Baronet: and I can truly declare that I repent of nothing so little as of my refusal to receive the same proffered honour.

"Hope and fear are now standing on the tiptoe of expectation for intelligence from India. Before the arrival of the late news with an account of Lord Cornwallis's return to Bangalore, a general opinion prevailed that we should hear of the capture of Seringapatam. The unexpected success of his Lordship's first operations against Tippoo excited hopes which were rather unreasonable; but the despondence of his return is still more so. In England, every thing is a party concern, rather than a natural one; and I firmly believe there are many public men who would hear that Lord Cornwallis had been compelled to return to the

Carnatic with more satisfaction, than that he was in possession of Seringapatam, and master of Tippoo's person and fate.

"In the public papers, which are all under party influence, you will trace the sentiments of the parties they serve; and, if I am not mistaken, you will perceive an exultation at Lord Cornwallis's return which will disgust you. He has, and ever will have, my respect, esteem, and regard; to which I can only add my most sanguine wishes that his success may be speedy and decisive, and proportioned to his zeal and his virtue. He appears already, in caricature, 'Upon an elephant, taking a peep at Seringapatam, with a dreadful monsoon blowing in his teeth.'

"The next Session of Parliament will, I understand, open with a furious battery against the Minister. Indian Affairs, and the late armament, will supply combustibles. But nothing will, I think, shake the Minister; who stands firm in the public confidence, from a general conviction that his conduct is directed by motives as just, pure, and honourable, as the present virtuous state of affairs will admit. His resolution in establishing the Sinking Fund, and the success with which the annual million has been applied to the liquidation of 6,772,350 *l.* stock of the National Debt, have, above all considerations, contributed to acquire firm support. The annual interest upon the above sum is 203,170*l.* 10*s.* In January 1792, Annuities fell in to the amount of 56,230*l.* per ann.; and in sixteen years, to the further amount of half a million. The expectation of continuing our present high rates of taxation, without augmentation of expense, during so long an interval, is acknowledged as somewhat cloudy, and will, I fear, vanish like Ixion's mistress; but if it can be done, we may yet live to see a possibility of a reduction of our national burdens. The Unfunded Debt is, I believe, between four and five millions. Notwithstanding the excessive taxes, the country throughout exhibits the appearance of the greatest opulence: and whenever you return, which I hope will be soon, you will see the advance of luxury greater than your imagination can form. Every one now lives in style. The Grocer's wife has her routs; the Butcher's Misses flaunt in Indian muslins; the Tailor has his chariot; and the lowest a curricle, gig, or whiskey. But there is, with all this, great internal wretchedness amongst the labouring class, and particularly the cultivators of the soil. Fortunately, however, the same spirit of profusion which predominates in dress, equipage, and domestic establishments, gives a spur to benevolence; and I am well convinced, that without its operation a third of the nation could not subsist at all.

"I do not learn from any one on what rational motives the Minister grounds his late interference between the Russians and the Turks, and the consequence of it, in the late expensive armament;—and I almost suspect that he had resigned his own judgment to opinions of Authority. I am an advocate for him; and wish he may be able to explain himself satisfactorily. At present, I cannot discover the policy or utility of the measure, or that we have derived honour or advantage from it:—one thing is certain, that it will add to our debts, which are enormously heavy.

"In France, affairs are in the most wretched disorder; and I cannot see a probability that they will ever be arranged, without a great effusion of blood. The present National Assembly seem afraid of discussing any important regulations, and misspend their time on the most frivolous debates upon the most unimportant topics. This seems to me the fairest test of deciding upon their abilities and competency to perfect the great outlines of national freedom and equality. Notwithstanding the sale of the national property—which has, I believe, in every instance far exceeded the estimate formed of its probable amount—the expenses are so great, as to increase the public debt. The proposed system of taxation has been nowhere established; and the nation seems to me to be living on its principal.

Instead of imputing the disorder which generally prevails to its true cause, the want of ability in the assembly to settle the nation, it is attributed to an aristocratic influence and opposition; and denunciations, or, in the vulgar language, impeachments, are daily fulminated against the Ministers, who are changed monthly; plots, or rumours of plots, are listened to with avidity; and a delusion is by this means kept up, which will at last be dissipated by some violent commotion. In the last assembly, there were men of the first talent and proportionable influence: in the present, talents have yielded to jealousies, suspicions, clamour, violence, and imbecillity. All the papers speak of the preparations by the French Princes and emigrants at Coblentz; and the National Assembly certainly gives credit to them, as is evident by its Resolutions. The Assembly may, I think, moulder away, from its own weakness; but the spirit of Freedom is yet, in my opinion, too strong in the nation to admit of a successful invasion by the pupils of Despotism. The attempt might, perhaps, end in a firmer union of the democrats, and, instead of precipitating the fall of the National Assembly, give efficacy to their power and resolutions. I make this reflection on the face of reports that the Princes have actually entered France.

. . . .

"I am not at all in the secret respecting Mr. Hastings's plan of defence; that is, whether he means to reflect upon the incompetency of the evidence on the side of the prosecution, or to call witnesses to establish his own innocency. At the conclusion of the last Session, I thought opinions less generally favourable to him than they were before; although the mode of carrying on the prosecution is, by most impartial people, deemed very severe and arbitrary. The last charge has made the strongest impression against him; and I am not surprised at it; for very few were qualified to judge of Mr. Fox's declamation. His fate is singularly hard: all the public parties in the kingdom, whatever some of the individuals connected with them may be, are inimical to him; and no event has happened, during a prosecution of six years, to change the direction of the popular attention, and substitute a new subject to be pelted at. They talk of trying the younger Holland by the new Judicature. The oldest is abroad, and means to reside there *pro tempore*, or *durante æstate sævitiæ*. —I have not yet perused Mr. Hastings's defence, which has been published. Mr. Hastings, from past experience, should dread the idea of publication.

"I beg that you will remember me particularly to Harrington and Myers, for both of whom I entertain a real regard and esteem. I hope Larkins enjoys his health, notwithstanding the appropriation of the public resources. Remember me kindly to them.—I shall write to you again by some of the public ships of the season; and in the mean time conclude,

"Yours very sincerely."

The playful allusion in the subsequent Letter originated in the following circumstance:—Mr. Shore had chanced, in company with the relation to whom the Letter is addressed, to visit, at Dartmouth, a lady suffering from an illness considered fatal by her physicians. He perceived at once the complaint to be in the liver; and recommended his Indian prescription so successfully, that she rapidly recovered her health; was married in six weeks; and declared, that if she knew where Dr. Shore resided, she would send him a dish of fish to any part of the kingdom. Mr. Shore's medical knowledge had been in other instances instrumental in preserving life; and, in one instance, that of a physician. He delighted in reading and conversing on medical subjects, and often expressed his regret that he had not embraced the Medical Profession.

"TO DR. CORNISH.

"MY DEAR SIR— "Bath, July 24, 1782.

"I can now thank you for the fish; which arrived in due time, in good condition, and afforded a luscious meal to your mother, sister, and myself. After dinner, we drank the health of the donor and his family.

"I rejoice to hear that Mrs. M—— is a living specimen of my skill in Nosology and Therapeutics; for I was not without my apprehensions that her disorder was too far advanced for cure . . . . . . There are so many of the descendants of Hippocrates and Galen, either legitimate or spurious, at Bath, that I shall not take out a diploma, but rest my fame on this instance.

. . . .

If ever you see the silent dame, beg her to accept my congratulations on her nuptials. To stamp my fame thoroughly as a physician, I ought to exhibit a proof of my skill in prophylactics, by recommending a remedy against deafness—a disorder which I think it probable her husband may suffer. But you know the old song—

'Tis past the art of man,
Let him do whate'er he can,
To make a chattering wife hold her tongue, tongue, [tongue.

. . . .

"I am in the midst of a journey into Greece, with the Younger Anacharsis; and for the sake of his company, I have stepped back to the middle of the fourth century before our era. I never met with a more entertaining travelling companion in my life; and he has introduced me, in the most friendly and familiar manner, to Plato, Xenophon, Dion, and, above all, Epaminondas. If you wish to know, or rather to revive your knowledge of Greece, its customs, manners, laws, amusements, &c., read the "Travels of the Younger Anacharsis," either in the original French of the Abbé Barthélemi, or in the English translation. It is, possibly, as learned a work as any that has appeared this age; and is equally elegant, accurate, entertaining, and interesting. He quotes his authority throughout, but is no pedant. There is an originality in the form of the work that only makes it more pleasing: he carries his readers with him.

"It would, I acknowledge, make me very happy to have a few words with you, and run over some stadia of classic ground, the paths and roads of which I have almost forgotten. You can enjoy by yourself the Roman Authors; and laugh with Horace, or scold with Juvenal, without other society; but my habits are not sufficiently Romanised for solitary enjoyment, and without communication I lose half my pleasure. Some time or other I hope we shall have leisure and society together. In the mean time, accept our best loves to you,

"And believe me ever your affectionate Brother."

But the dream of domestic peace, and of literary and social enjoyment, which Mr. Shore now indulged without apprehension of disturbance, was suddenly dispelled, by a renewed summons to the post of duty and of honour. He had proceeded from Clifton, where he had just fixed his residence, toward Devonshire, to engage the lease of a house for seven years—"which would be, in fact," to use his own words, "taking a lease for life";—when a Messenger arrived from London, conveying to him the offer of succession to the Governor-Generalship of India, on the expected resignation of Lord Cornwallis.

Mr. Shore, to whom the possibility of so flattering a proposal had never occurred, at once declined it; and repaired to London, to state the reasons for his determination to the Ministers in whom it had originated. He passed on the road Mr. Charles Grant, who, foreseeing this result, had hastened to prevent it. He accomplished the object of his journey; and, in announcing the fulfilment of it to Mrs. Shore, assigned, amongst other motives for the course he had pursued, the prospect of their renewed separation—Mrs. Shore's situation at this time preventing the possibility of her accompanying him; ——observing, that she was "the Cleopatra for whom he was content to lose the world." But subsequent considerations, patriotic as well as personal, seconded by Mrs. Shore's judicious counsel, induced him once more to forego his reluctance to a step from which past experience might naturally induce him to shrink. Soon after his acceptance of the appointment, he was created a Baronet*, and presented to their Majesties.

It is a circumstance too honourable to Mr. Pitt and to Mr. Dundas to omit, that they had intimated to Mr. Grant, who did not at the time communicate it to Mr. Shore, their determination to have remunerated him for his past services, in the event of his not accepting the Governor-Generalship.

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* The following Letter, referring to the Baronetcy, was addressed by the President of the Board of Controul to the Chairman of the Court of Directors:—

"TO FRANCIS BARING, ESQ.

"DEAR SIR— "Whitehall, Sept. 21, 1792.

"Would it not be right, that some public mark of honour should be conferred on Mr. Shore by the King? I know him to be of a temper that does not value distinctions of that kind, on their own account; but I have an idea that it is a fair compliment to the Court of Directors, and of use to the Public Service, that the credit of this appointment should be supported, and this most public manifestation given that it meets with approbation in every quarter.

"Yours faithfully,

"HENRY DUNDAS."

"TO DAVID ANDERSON, ESQ.

"Great George Street, Westminster,
Sept. 30, 1792.

"MY DEAR ANDERSON—

"Little did I think, My friend, when I saw you in Bath, that I was near so long a separation from you, and that an offer of the Government of Bengal would ever be made to me: and even when I last wrote to you from Clifton, I had determined not to leave England. Happy, perhaps, it would have been for me, if that offer had never been made; for it placed me in a dilemma, which opened no prospect but misery. The matter is now decided; and I am, as far as possible, resolved to banish all gloomy reflections, which can only lead to sorrow and unhappiness, and to fix my views upon the brighter scenes of honour, profit, a provision for my family and friends, and public good. Mr. Pitt and Mr. Dundas have behaved to me with the greatest candour, and even kindness; and from them I have received such liberal assurances, as place me upon the most solid ground. The Directors have imitated their example, and have given to me a salary of 10,000 rupees per month, to commence from the date of my embarkation, and to continue until I succeed to the Government. His Majesty has also determined to make me a Baronet, to which I have not the same objections as formerly. All this is very fine;—but one tear of my beloved Charlotte dissipates in a moment the illusions of vanity and ambition. You and Mrs. Anderson will feel for us both.

. . . .

"I am, My dear Anderson,
"Your affectionate."

Mr. Shore had now happily formed the friendship of Mr. Wilberforce, with whom he had become acquainted at Bath, through the introduction of Mr. Grant; and who resided with his friend, Mr. Henry Thornton, at Battersea Rise. The following paragraph in Mr. Wilberforce's lately-published Correspondence introduces Mr. Shore as the guest of Mr. Pitt:—

"Shore, the newly-appointed Governor-General, is a most able, honourable man. After having been twenty years in India, and for three or four of them in the Supreme Council, he retired with a fortune of 25,000*l.*; and was with difficulty compelled to accept the splendid and lucrative post of Governor-General; which Government, so creditably to themselves, absolutely forced upon him. He was living in retirement, not even keeping a carriage, in Somersetshire, with a sweet wife and two children. I dined with him since, at Pitt's, in company with Dundas; and he was there the same simple dignified man he had been in his country privacy."

The nomination of an individual, as Sir J. Shore described himself, without family connections or influence, to so high, responsible, and lucrative a post, was no less gratifying to the Directors and Servants of the East-India Company in general than honourable to the Minister. His friends congratulated him warmly on the occasion; and amongst them appeared his old school-fellow, Halhed, in the appropriate character of Martial, of whose Epigrams he soon afterwards published "Imitations"; thus paraphrasing the "Æmiliæ gentes" &c. lib. x. 12, of that poet:—

"To parch'd Bengal's Brahminical domains,
Where floods of Ganges fertilize the plains,
Go, virtuous Shore! I urge thy journey—go!
A nation's welfare compensates my woe.
Go!—I can court regret on such a plea;
The bliss of millions should be bliss to me.
Thy patriot toils a few short seasons claim:
Guard but thyself, and leave the rest to Fame.
Go!—and imbibe incessant suns once more:
We rate not merit by complexion, Shore.

Nay,

Nay, if inglorious ease can feel concern,
Thy fairer friends shall blush at thy return:
One British winter Asia's tint shall chase,
And feed thy glory, as it clears thy face."

But the Ministerial choice was regarded in a very different light by Mr. Burke, whose animosity was implacable towards any one guilty, in his estimation, of the crime of friendship to Mr. Hastings. He thus addressed the Chairman of the Court of Directors:—

"RT. HON. EDMUND BURKE TO FRANCIS BARING, ESQ.

"SIR— "Bath, October 14, 1792.

"I have heard—and the account is generally credited—that Mr. Shore is in nomination, or actually appointed, to the office of Governor-General of Bengal.

"Having been appointed by the House of Commons a Member of Committee to impeach one of your late Governor-Generals, Mr. Hastings, I think it my duty to inform you, that, in the exercise of the function imposed on that Committee by the House, we have found Mr. Shore materially concerned as a principal actor and party in certain of the offences charged upon Mr. Hastings; that is to say, in the mal-administration of the Revenue

Board, of which, under Mr. Hastings, he was, for some considerable time, the acting Chief.

"I think it necessary to inform you, that some of the matters charged as misdemeanours, in which it appears that Mr. Shore was concerned, are actually on evidence before the Lords.

"Other facts, of a very strong nature, which the Managers for the Commons have opened as offences, are upon your Records; copies of which are in our possession. They go seriously to affect Mr. Shore's Administration, as acting Chief in the Revenue Board.

"The Committee of Managers cannot, consistently with their duty in making good the charge confided to them by the House of Commons, avoid a proceeding in those matters, and the taking such steps, both for supporting the evidence now before the Peers, as well as putting the other and not less important matter into such a proper course of proceeding as the ends of justice and the public policy may require. They have not hitherto, in any instance, deviated from the line of their duty.

"In that situation, it is for the prudence of the Court to consider the consequences which possibly may follow from sending out, in offices of the highest rank and of the highest possible power, persons whose conduct, appearing on their own Records, is, at the first view, very reprehensible;

and against whom such criminal matter, on such grounds, in a manner so solemn, and by men acting under such authority as that of the House of Commons, is partly at issue, and the rest opened and offered in proof before the highest Tribunal in the nation.

"I have the honour to be, with very great respect and attention,

"Sir,

"Your most obedient and humble Servant,

"Edmund Burke."

The following is the substance of Mr. Baring's Reply to Mr. Burke, submitted to Mr. Pitt's approbation:—

"FRANCIS BARING, ESQ., TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE WILLIAM PITT.

"DEAR SIR— "London, September 16, 1792.

"On my arrival from the country, I have received the original from Mr. Burke, of which a copy is the inclosed; and as there is no person in town with whom I can consult, I propose to lay the same before the Court to-morrow. I shall further propose, that an answer be sent, something like the draft I have annexed: on which I beg to receive your sentiments, particularly in the event of its drawing on a further correspondence with Mr. Burke.

"I am, &c. yours."

PROPOSED ANSWER TO MR. BURKE.

"SIR—

"On my return from the country yesterday, I received the honour of your Letter, dated the 14th; which I have taken the first opportunity to lay before the Court of Directors. I have their orders to acquaint you, that Sir John Shore has been unanimously appointed to succeed Lord Cornwallis, as Governor-General of Bengal.

. . . .

"The Court observes with great regret the sentiments you have been pleased to express on this occasion. The very great deference and respect which the Court of Directors have always entertained and expressed towards the House of Commons will ever prevent them from acting contrary to their wish, which they conceive has not been intimated on the present occasion. And I am directed to add, that their inducement for selecting Sir John Shore was a decided opinion they entertained of his having proved one of the ablest and most upright Servants of the Company in India."

Mr. Burke addressed yet stronger remonstrances to Mr. Dundas. Nor was the Governor-General the single object of the indignant Statesman's menaces. He intimated, through the Bishop of St. Asaph, to Sir Wm. Jones, his determination to use his utmost influence to procure the recall of the latter from India, in the event of his adopting any measures in Mr. Hastings's behalf.—Lord Thurlow, some years afterwards, animadverting at his own table on Mr. Burke's exasperation at this time, observed to Lord Teignmouth, that his impeachment of Mr. Hastings had been the slaver of a mad dog.

Previous to his quitting London, Sir J. Shore received a summons from Mr. Dundas, to receive his parting instructions. At the appointed hour, he found the President of the India Board stepping into his carriage, to proceed to Scotland on urgent business; and joined him, at his earnest request. After they had advanced some stages, Sir John expressed his regret that his engagements would prevent him proceeding further; when Mr. Dundas shook him cordially by the hand, observing, that his views were as well known to Sir John as to himself;—the first allusion he had made to Indian affairs, though he had conversed incessantly on other subjects.

The Letters from which the following extracts are taken were written by Sir J. Shore on his route to Falmouth; where he embarked on the 26th of October. He was accompanied by his brother-in-law, Mr. Hubert Cornish, as his Private Secretary —a relative endeared to him, as also to a large circle of friends, by an amiable and affectionate disposition, lively spirits, a rich fund of humour, and various agreeable accomplishments.

"TO LADY SHORE.

"MY DEAR CHARLOTTE— "Launceston, Oct. 17, 1792.

. . . .

"My ease will depend upon the picture I frame to myself of your situation. As to the voyage to India, the risk of the climate, dangers of the sea, and other possibilities, they are nothing to me abstracted from the consideration of you and your dear babes. All my pangs are comprised in the word 'Separation';—and I wonder how I could consent to submit to it.

. . . .

"May the blessing of God be upon you and your babes! and may His grace enable me to persist in the resolution which I have formed, of soliciting His mercy, morning and evening, to impress me with submissive resignation to His dispensations!

Let me beg of you, my dear wife, not to neglect formal and regular applications to Him. In this I see a consolation which nothing else can afford.

. . . .

"May the Father of Mercies preserve you, and my Charlotte and Caroline, and your obliged and affectionate husband!"

. . . .

"*Falmouth*, *Oct.* 21.—A few minutes after brought me your affectionate Letter, without date: and with it came, though not from you, a very unaffectionate Letter from Mr. Burke to the Chairman of the Court of Directors, accusing me of being concerned in Mr. Hastings's misdemeanours. It hurt me excessively;—not on my own account; for I defy Mr. Burke, and all his gang of malignant informers, to prove me dishonest; but from the effect which I feared it might have upon you. Laugh at it, my dear Charlotte; and mind not what a madman says. He appeals to the records of the Indian Company, and to the evidence on Mr. Hastings's trial, for the proofs that I was a principal actor in the misdemeanours proved against Mr. Hastings; as if the Court, and still less the Ministry, were so blind and so ignorant as not to see the proofs, if they existed.

. . . .

"His attacks shall never discompose me, if I can only satisfy myself that you do not mind what he says; for I should not be surprised if he were to push the matter before Parliament. So much the better.—I must, I find, be a great man, in spite of my teeth.

. . . .

"Remember me to your mother. You do not say how she takes our absence. I fear she will be as bad to you as the croakings of a Burke. The business was communicated to me by Mr. Baring; to whom Burke wrote an Official Letter, advising them to consider how they appointed me. Mr. Baring's answer told him, that the Court selected me because they thought me one of their honestest and ablest Servants; and the Court of Directors unanimously approved the answer. Between ourselves, it has been approved by Higher Authorities. —Kisses to my dear babes.

. . . .

"I am, Dear Charlotte,

"Your ever affectionate husband."

Sir J. Shore reached Calcutta on the 10th March 1793, after being detained on the voyage by a prolonged calm; to which he thus alludes in his Correspondence:—

"Nov. 17, 1793.

"The wisdom of Providence conducts us better than we could guide ourselves. Who can tell that a more expeditious voyage might not have led us into storms or dangers, that we have avoided by the delay? Besides, the winds blow not for us alone; and the blasts that opposed us may have wafted many a sea-worn famished mariner into port. But selfishness is the character of human nature; and we look to our own gratification, without considering how far the happiness of others may be promoted or retarded by it. There is, however, an irreligion in selfishness, which it is our duty to check. We are ever to remember, that the sun shines not for us alone; and that all are equally under the care of one Just, Eternal, All-surveying, and All-directing Providence."

CHAPTER IX.

ARRIVAL IN BENGAL—UNCERTAINTY RESPECTING SUCCESSION TO THE GOVERNMENT — RECEIVES INTELLIGENCE OF THE DEATH OF HIS CHILDREN — FRENCH SETTLEMENTS IN INDIA CAPTURED — LORD CORNWALLIS RETURNS TO ENGLAND — SIR J. SHORE GOVERNOR-GENERAL—SUCCESSFUL EXPEDITION AGAINST FRENCH CRUISERS.

On his arrival in Bengal, Sir John Shore once more received the warm welcome of his numerous friends, and found himself surrounded by his old domestics.

"SIR WILLIAM JONES TO SIR JOHN SHORE, BART.

"MY DEAR SIR— "March 11, 1793.

"I hasten to congratulate you, and to express my own joy on your honourable appointment and safe arrival; but you must have so many congratulations to receive, that I will write only a short Note; and beg you to answer me, by a verbal message, that you are well. You have a claim to my hearty thanks for your friendly Letter of the 24th of May 1792, which I received by the 'Tartar;' which brought intelligence so auspicious to this country.

"Do me the favour to accept of a little book: it is rather dull, but contains useful matter. I sent a copy of it to Bath, before I could expect the happiness of seeing you again so soon. Lady Shore and your family were, I trust, in perfect health when you left England. Lady Jones is at the Gardens, rather indisposed; but when I can leave her alone, I will have the pleasure of waiting on you.

"I am, My dear sir,
"Your affectionate Servant."

Sir J. Shore's situation was for some time by no means agreeable. As Lord Cornwallis retained the reins of Government till October, his destined successor, during the intermediate period of more than seven months, resided principally at a garden-house in the neighbourhood of Calcutta, without official employment or responsibility; whilst, in lieu of a full salary of 25,000*l.* he received but 10,000*l.* Nor was he free from well-grounded anxiety, lest the prize, for which he had once more returned to India, should escape his grasp: for it had been intimated to him privately by Mr. Grant, that, in the event of war with France, Lord Cornwallis might be prevailed upon to remain in India, where his military talents might be required: and, in fact, intelligence of that important event arrived in June.

TO THE RIGHT HON. HENRY DUNDAS.

"SIR— "Calcutta, March 25, 1793.

"You are apprised by Lord Cornwallis of his determination to retain the Government for some months longer; and I most sincerely assure you that this resolution is no source of regret to me. The delay will afford me an opportunity of acquiring the most accurate information on the affairs of every department, without pursuing that incessant application for this purpose which would have been indispensable if his Lordship's departure had been sudden. I am not insensible of the peculiar difficulties which the success and reputation of his Lordship's Administration must impose upon his successor. But with the advantage of knowing his principles, and a determination to adhere to them with zealous application and integrity that no man shall ever justly impeach, I have no fears of doing credit to the patronage which has deemed me worthy to be his successor; and I hope to escape the reflection which Tacitus applies to Galba:

> Consensu omnium capax imperii nisi imperasset.

"From the cursory view which I have been able to take of the situation of affairs in general, I am not qualified to say more, than, that they have a very prosperous appearance, and that I foresee nothing that has any tendency to alarm or discourage. The various arrangements introduced by Lord Cornwallis, being founded on equity and sound policy, are calculated to produce practical improvement; and I most sincerely assure you, that to promote that effect will afford me more solid satisfaction than any that I could derive from an augmentation of my fortune, or from the honours which you can bestow upon me. If any exception occurs to the course of general improvement, it is in the Vizier's territories, which, I learn, are far from being in a prosperous state: but as I have not had any communications with his Lordship on this subject, I will not anticipate information which I may hereafter be able to detail with greater accuracy. Several important Regulations were proposed by Lord Cornwallis, for the internal administration of the Company's territories, some time previous to my arrival; and had obtained the sanction of the Supreme Board. At his Lordship's desire, I have recorded my opinion on his plan of arrangement; expressing my unqualified approbation of the principles on which it is founded; and that I thought the Regulations, in detail, well calculated to give energy to those principles. Two considerations would, however, have deterred *me* from carrying the plan into execution, without the sanction of the Court of Directors, if his Lordship had postponed it until his departure. These are, the increase of expense, and the strictures expressed upon the innovations of system. To these objections, ready and, I trust, satisfactory answers can, in the present instance, be made; and I have no hesitation to avow, that the relative situation of this country to Great Britain absolutely requires every possible restriction on the exercise of discretional authority, either by the Governor-General or his executive Officers, that can be adopted without restraining its ability to do good.

"I shall take the liberty of continuing my correspondence with you, whenever I have any important communications to make.

"I have the honour to be, Sir,

"Your obliged and most obedient
humble Servant."

"TO CHARLES GRANT, ESQ.

"MY DEAR SIR— "Calcutta, March 25, 1793.

. . . .

"You will be pleased to see the result of Sir William Jones's Inquiries into the Hindoo Literature—an increased conviction of the truth of our Religion. In the Third Volume of the Oriental Researches, you will find an extract from a Hindoo work of great antiquity, exhibiting a most wonderful conformity to the Mosaic History*. I have torn out the leaf, and sent it inclosed. Providence seems to have ordained that the evidence in support of our Religion should increase in proportion to the supineness of mankind, and that this evidence should be peculiarly adapted to the existing circumstances of the world: and this observation, if founded on fact, as I believe it to be, is in itself a proof of Religion, and of the wonderful dispensation of the Almighty for the preservation of it: and I think it would, if duly traced and illustrated, make a strong impression on every candid dispassionate Infidel, if such a character exists. I have seen your friend Mr. Brown†, and have expressed my sentiments to him in a way that will, I hope, lead to an intimacy between us. I shall be happy to shew him every degree of friendly attention, on private as well as moral grounds.

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* The passage alluded to proved to be, as Lord Teignmouth has stated in his Preface to the Memoirs of Sir W. Jones, a forgery of the Pundit employed by Mr. Wilford in the researches which led to its pretended discovery. "The same sagacity which detected a similar fraud in another instance," observes the Biographer, "might have been equally successful, had the original document been submitted to Sir W. Jones."

† Rev. David Brown, one of the Chaplains of the Presidency. "Memorial Sketches" of his Life were published in 1816.

"Lord Cornwallis and myself met on the terms of old friendship and mutual regard, and we go on with the same cordiality as heretofore. I am apt to think that there never can be a disagreement between public men, where all objects but public good are excluded. He looks wonderfully well; and I anticipate with satisfaction the happiness he he will enjoy in Europe from his well-earned reputation."

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"TO WILLIAM WILBERFORCE, ESQ.

"DEAR SIR— "Calcutta, March 25, 1793.

. . . .

"It would have been my earnest wish, if I had continued in England, to cultivate your friendship; and it shall be my sincere endeavour in this country to merit your esteem. I shall seldom, and probably never, have occasion to trouble you with any reference to points of business; as I shall never solicit nor expect any support beyond what my public conduct entitles me to; and for this, my appeal must be made to the Public Records. Lord Cornwallis's Administration imposes a difficult task on his successor: in zeal and integrity no man can surpass him, and his success has been proportionate: but as I am of opinion that common sense, honesty, and application, are sufficient for transacting most of the affairs of mankind, I shall not despair of acquitting myself to the satisfaction of those whose partiality has raised me to the first station any subject can hold.

That you may long enjoy health, and every blessing that this world affords, is the sincere wish of,

"Dear Sir,
"Your most sincere and obedient
humble servant.

"I beg my respects to Mr. Thornton."

"TO LADY SHORE.

"April 14, 1793.

. . . .

"Sometimes I dread the contagion of that madness which runs now in France, spreading over England, while I am unable, from absence, to afford you and my babes protection: but Providence will, I trust, save us from it, and me from the misery of such a situation. What, in fact, would be mine, in this country, if Anarchy were to spread her banners in my native soil? But there is a fund of good sense in England, that will not suffer her intrusion: and notwithstanding the murmurs of discontent, the intrigues of the ambitious, the machinations of false patriots, and the undermining attempts of insidious villany, I consider the Constitution as secure: for is it possible, that the care of our country, of our families, our friends, and posterity, can be so inert, as to make us renounce the enjoyment of that liberty and real happiness that no other Country or Constitution affords? Surely not! and every thinking man, who is not void of feeling, must resist attempts that cannot be made without abandoning himself and nearest connections to certain misery for a time, if not for ages. I was a friend to the French Revolution: the despotism of the French Monarchy, and the misery of the people, required reform; but I am a friend to our own Constitution, because it is not despotic, and leaves every man to enjoy his personal liberty, his property, and to act and write as he pleases, provided he does not injure his neighbour. I am citizen of the world enough to wish the French happy; but I am also a patriot, and am satisfied to enjoy the happiness we already possess. There is no foresight can penetrate the eccentricities of human passions: they rise sometimes like storms in a clear sky, and spread desolation over the earth. Philosophers, or those who call themselves by that name, pretend to the sagacity of foreseeing human occurrences, and of tracing them to their causes. They sometimes succeed; but oftener fail. Who could have predicted the unexampled revolution of French manners? In this reflection rests the sole source of my apprehensions. But I think the English Nation is now forewarned, and the bulk of the people prepared against the fatal events that my feelings rather than my reason suggest. Our Administration at Home is respectable for its wisdom and probity; and to its care, under Providence, I leave the direction of affairs.—And so much for Political speculation.

. . . .

"May 30, 1793.

. . . .

"The same conveyance by which we received the above intelligence brings us also news of war between England and France. What a period of horrors do we live in! Do not be alarmed on my account. The French have no forces in India, nor can bring any, to cope with us; and, at all events, would never think of coming to Bengal. My spirits never fail in proportion to the exigency of affairs: on the contrary, they are more affected by trifles; and I always find my mind and powers expand when the emergency requires it.

. . . .

"My situation here, by the way, is a very awkward one. Independently of family concerns, Lord Cornwallis goes to the coast, and leaves me here—Nobody. If I could have foreseen his determination, I would certainly have proposed—what as certainly would have been given to me—a seat in Council; and it might have been done without inconvenience. I should be well off indeed if by any accident I were *manquer la succession*;—and so many things happen between the cup and the lip, that this event may arise too: if so, we must turn philosophers; or, what is better, live like good Christians, in peace and charity with all the world, and contented ourselves. I cannot find in my heart to despair, when I think of an event which will unite us sooner, however painful and vexing it may be in other respects.

. . . .

In the following extract, Sir J. Shore alludes to the death of an intimate friend, Colonel ——, who had been removed, when dying, to his house, and breathed his last on his bed and in his presence:—

"The window of the room from which I write looks directly to the house of my friend, on the other side of the river. It was in this room, and on the spot where I am now sitting, as nearly as can be, that he breathed his last. With whims and eccentricities, he possessed a heart of the finest mould; and if he could have added the benevolence of Christianity to a stock as great as ever man had, he would have been the most perfect character existing. As he was, where shall I find a sincerer friend or better man? Poor fellow! he is released from the cares of this world. He once persuaded me to go down the river when I was ill, and accompanied me; and to him, perhaps, I may owe my life—none other would have persuaded me.—The humanity of his heart gave, without effort, a softness to his actions, that soothed and persuaded.—Where, in India, shall I find a friend like him!?"

On the eve of acceding to the Government, Sir John Shore was deeply affected by intelligence of the death of his two younger children; which had been communicated to him by his friend Mr. Grant.

"TO CHARLES GRANT, ESQ.

"MY DEAR SIR— "September 22, 1793.

. . . .

"I shall first advert to your melancholy and affectionate Letter of the 10th of May, which reached me on Saturday the 15th of September. On the same day of the preceding week I returned my grateful thanks to the Almighty, for His mercy in protecting my children. I had been apprised, by Lady Shore, that they were attacked with the measles; and, from the terms of her Letter, concluded that their recovery was no longer doubtful. It has pleased the Lord to determine otherwise; and I submit without a murmur to the dispensations of His Providence. He gave—He has taken away. Blessed be His name!

"Whatever conclusions may be drawn from appearances—and none, I trust, in my conduct to the discredit of virtue or encouragement of vice!—there is no truth which I more sedulously believe, cultivate, and cherish, than that all the events of this life are governed by an All-directing Providence; and that whatsoever we call evil is meant for the ultimate good of mankind. Who is so impious as to doubt the benevolence of the Deity? Who that admits it can think otherwise? I cannot reflect upon the subject without a degree of enthusiasm; and I cannot convey my sentiments upon it better than by transcribing the following Prayer, which I have long been in the habit of repeating:—

"'Almighty GOD! who knowest the wishes of 'my heart, and who alone canst tell what is best for 'me, teach me to put my trust in Thee; and ever'more to say with confidence, Thy will, O Lord, be 'done! Make me truly to feel that *that* Thou 'givest, *that* Thou withholdest, or afflictest, proceeds 'alike from mercy, benevolence, and love to Thy 'creatures. Impress upon my heart this conviction, 'that it may lead to a firm trust and reliance upon 'Thy providence—to resignation to Thy dispensa'tions—and to gratitude and thanksgiving for Thy 'mercies, Thy favours, and Thy chastisements!'

"These are the habitual sentiments of my heart. But in the first agonies of sorrow, their usual impression was suspended. Our Religion requires submission, but does not demand insensibility. I felt as a man, as a husband, and a parent; but I murmured not against the Hand that had inflicted my wounds. The offences of my life have been too many, not to acknowledge the justice of Divine punishment. How little indeed have I suffered, in proportion to my demerits! But the justice of the Almighty is inseparable from His benevolence; and He chastises us to amendment. I know no other source of consolation under misfortune than this. We may indeed, upon stoïcal principles, reason away our feelings; but we shall not be better or wiser for it. Sensibility is the cradle of Religion, which will never thoroughly influence our conduct unless it be a sentiment of the heart. The Ancients often mention the advantages of affliction, in moderating our passions, and in inspiring the mind with sympathy, humanity, and commiseration; but they never, as far as I have read, dwelt upon the moral improvement occasioned by it, as fitting us for the enjoyment of a future state. This is the doctrine of the New Testament—a doctrine which, if my remark on the omission of the Ancients be just, is at once an argument in favour of a future state, and of Revelation: for the effect of affliction, which Revelation points out, is distinct from its natural effect, which alone the Ancients notice.

"There was a time when these sentiments were languid and inert: and if such a shock had then attacked me, I know not what the consequences might have been. I thank God most sincerely and gratefully that it has been otherwise; and that He did not inflict the blow until He had given me strength to bear it. I have prayed to Him for chastisement, as the means of amendment; but I little thought to suffer through my dear children. —God has judged differently: and I submit, with a prayer that I may be the better for it.

"The morning of the receipt of your Letter I had occupied myself in making extracts from the Psalms; and they happened to be such as my situation required. My selections from the Thirty-eighth Psalm were particularly copious. The intelligence could never have reached me at a time when I was more fitted to bear it. After all . . . . But you have felt the afflictions of a father.

"I assure you, My dear Sir, that I am not inattentive to the duties of Religion. Many of my leisure hours are employed in perusing the Scriptures and books of divinity. On Sunday, I do nothing besides, except that I usually write some lines to Lady Shore on that day. My mornings begin with prayer to God; my evenings are closed with the same duty. I pray to Him for knowledge to understand His laws; for grace to follow them; for increase of faith; and for resignation to His will. I acknowledge my sins before Him, and implore His forgiveness. One part of my daily prayers was for His protection upon my children: He has heard me in a way different from what I meant; and has indeed taken them to His own exclusive protection. I am not conscious that I live in the commission of any habitual sin; and though I have prescribed a rule to myself, never to argue upon Religion—a subject too often brought into discussion, and for unworthy purposes—I deem it an indispensable duty to declare, upon such occasions, my belief in the Christian Religion, that no one may be ignorant of my principles, or suppose I approve what is said against it;—nor is there any subject upon which I am more willing to converse in due time and place. In mentioning the objects of my daily supplications, I do not mean to say that there are no others. I pray to the Almighty to support me with His grace in the arduous station which His providence has assigned me; and, above all, to impress me with a lively, vigorous, animated hope of that happy eternity which He has promised, through our Saviour Jesus Christ, to those who obey His Commandments.

" After all, My dear Sir, I do not mean to affirm that I am as religious as I ought to be; but I trust that the Almighty will enable me to persevere unto the end, in the path of improvement which I have taken. In this hope I receive the chastisement He has inflicted upon me with gratitude. Affliction is but too necessary to recall our wandering thoughts, to soften the hardness of our hearts, or to alarm one's feelings. I thank God that He has not overlooked me. The honours of this world, I declare without affectation, have no temptations for me. I feel no pride at the elevated station assigned me; but am thoroughly sensible that I am not equally fortified against prosperity; and that my heart, though it might not have been corrupted by it, might have grown callous and unfeeling.

" I shall say little more upon this subject, except to thank you for your kind Letter upon it, which I shall often peruse. I had two copies of " The Friendly Visit"; one of which I lately disposed of to your sister, Mrs. Chambers, a few days after the loss of her husband; and desired Mr. Owen, through whom I sent it, to inform her that I had received it from you, judging that it would not be less agreeable on that account. She bears her loss—which indeed, in comparison with mine, is heavy—with manly pious Christian resignation—with a submission that piety alone can infuse. Yet there are wretches who would deprive us of these consolations, and undermine the basis of mortal comfort and immortal hope:—but judgment belongs to the Almighty; and He will judge them. A few days ago, I requested Mr. Owen to inform Mrs. Chambers that I should be happy to wait upon her, whenever she was disposed to receive the visit.

"The coincidence of dreams with facts is sometimes striking; and my loss unhappily furnishes me with an instance. In a Letter to Lady Shore of the 11th of May last, I mentioned a dream respecting my daughter Caroline, which had shocked me to agony; but I did not communicate to her the particulars. It happened on or about the first of that month—my Letter particularly mentions the 1st.—I thought I was walking out with the dear girl, when, stopping to speak to somebody, I missed her. A ladder was erected against a house which was repairing, and I concluded she had ascended by it. I entered the house; and, on inquiring for the child, was told a Coroner's inquest was sitting on the body of a dead infant. I hastened to the room, and was struck with the appearance of the dissevered limbs of a child, which I knew to be my own. I took up an arm; and the hand grasped my finger. I need not add, that I awoke with a scream, and in an agony of tears. It was perhaps at that time that my beloved girl ceased to exist. . . . . . . I have now done; and shall be silent about her.

"I shall not blend any other subject with this Letter. The chastening which I have received will, I hope, produce on me its proper fruits. The stroke has been severe.—I perhaps required it: and if I am wiser and better for it, I ought to rejoice. That this may be the consequence, I sincerely pray.

"May the Almighty preserve you from the same affliction! is the sincere prayer of,

"My dear Sir,

"Your ever affectionate humble Servant."

The dream alluded to in this Letter is mentioned in Sir J. Shore's Correspondence, shortly after its occurrence; which proved to be the night on which the child died. He also describes the impression it had produced on his mind, as having taken root, in spite of all the suggestions of Reason and Religion, and persevering application to business. It had been preceded, some few weeks, by one to the same effect, though much less distressing to his feelings. No particular importance, perhaps, can be attached to the coincidence of the dream with the event: but the Reader will probably concur in Mr. Grant's judicious reflections, in a Letter to Lady Shore, on the intimation conveyed by the dream itself:—

"Who can doubt that this was a merciful premonition, to prepare and sadden as it were the heart, that it might not be broken by the sudden blow of so hard a calamity? If I may so speak, this seems to draw aside the curtain, and give us a glimpse of the Great Disposer carrying on his designs with respect both to your husband and you, whose interests are but one. The event had not then happened; but he is forewarned of it, when his mind, undisturbed by public cares, is best able to attend to all the considerations connected with it. I trust much benefit will have resulted from this; and especially that his mind will have been secretly moulded into such a persuasion of the probability of the event, that he will receive the news of it without being overwhelmed by the stroke. I pray that God, who hath begun to distinguish you both by His remarkable dealings, may find, in you both, persons who distinguish Him as remarkably by their devotedness to Him beyond others."

"THE MARQUIS CORNWALLIS TO SIR JOHN SHORE.

"DEAR SIR— "Madras, Sept. 30, 1793.

"I know your sensibility too well, not to entertain the most serious apprehensions for the effect which the late afflicting accounts of your family may have upon your health. I need not, I am sure, tell you how sincerely I was concerned for you; and I will not trouble you with consolatory reflections, which your own good sense will in due time suggest to you: and I know, by sad experience, that there must be a season when grief will have its way.

. . . .

"I am, with the greatest esteem and regard,
"My dear Sir,
"Most sincerely yours,
"CORNWALLIS."

"TO THE REV. THOMAS WILLIAM SHORE.

"September, 1793.

. . . .

"I have only to wish that the situation may prove agreeable, and that you may have health for the discharge of your parochial duties yourself. Nothing can excuse a Clergyman, in my opinion, from the performance of them, but indisposition.

It is a duty which he owes to the State, his conscience, and his God. The peace and happiness of mankind depend much more upon the conduct and instruction of the Clergy than is commonly supposed. They are, with respect to Religion, what the outworks of a fortification are to a citadel. The latter rarely holds out long after the former are erased. Voltaire has contributed more than any other man to introduce Atheism and Irreligion into France, by his incessant attempts to ridicule the Clergy: for the transition from the Minister to the subject is easy. In England, there may be less scope for ridicule; but it ought to be the constant care of every Clergyman to avoid every thing that may give room for it. The people in general think they have a right to the service of the Preacher whom they pay; and the aversion to the discharge of tithes would be less if every Minister of the Gospel were as attentive to his duty and conduct as he ought to be. But I will not say more to you, who are an example of what I recommend.

"I am, My dear Brother,
"Most sincerely and affectionately yours."

"TO JOHN BLACKBURN, ESQ.

"Bengal, Oct. 14, 1793.

"It is impossible to view with indifference the state of Europe: and I see, with the deepest concern, the calamities which afflict it. To conjecture what will be the result of the present combustion is beyond my faculties. All I can hope, is, that peace will be soon established; and, above all, that my own country may not be scorched by the fires raging in all parts of Europe. What intellect, ten years ago, could have foretold the horrors of the present hour? Our best wisdom is but folly; our prudence, chance. A POWER, whom the French in the intoxication of their phrensy have deposed from His sovereignty over the universe, by shewing to us the vanity and disappointment of human prospects, daily enforces the necessity of a reliance upon Him. —May His wisdom guide our councils, and His Providence correct our follies! I am too much a citizen of the world, and have too much humanity, not to wish the establishment of peace, quiet, and happiness in France; but I love my country, my friends, my family, and posterity, too well to desire to see real comfort sacrificed to ideal perfection, the wisdom of ages renounced for the quackery of new political experiments, or, in other words, the Constitution overturned. I trust the good sense of

England will prevail against all the efforts directed to this object. That some of its parts require amendment, may be admitted; but I leave to those who are wiser, and who, from their situation, can best judge, to determine the proper time, mode, and *quantum* of improvement. We are something like the natural situation of Holland:—a rat may let in an ocean.

. . . .

"I remain, My dear Sir,
"Your affectionate humble Servant."

"TO H. S. CHANDLER, ESQ.

"Oct. 14, 1793.

"I thank you, My dear friend, for your Letter of the 12th of May last; and assure you, that one of my greatest gratifications in this country is to receive testimonials of the regard of those whom I remember with affection.

. . . .

"Whether I shall or shall not be Governor-General remains yet an undecided point. Lord Cornwallis left us for the coast in August, intending once more to smell a little gunpowder at the siege of Pondicherry. But the French were not disposed to gratify his Lordship, but surrendered the very day on which he left the 'Pilot.' By his last Letters, he was determined to embark the 10th of this month, on board the 'Swallow;' and ordered his Secretary to draw no more allowances after the end of September. Expectation is now hovering on the wing, and in two days more I trust to hear from him; but conclude his resignation will not be despatched before the date of his embarkation. We lived and parted upon the most cordial terms: and, although my succession has been postponed, I love him as much as ever; and he will carry with him every good wish from me, for his safe voyage, and happiness in England after his arrival.

"Sir Robert Abercrombie has been a week in Calcutta; and, at Lord Cornwallis's desire, has been entrusted with the command of the army.—I am not sure, by the way, that this is strictly legal or regular. He has no seat in Council: and how the Governor of Bombay can be Commander-in Chief at Bengal before the office is vacant, I leave to better wits to determine. I understand Sir R. Abercrombie is a very well-meaning, and very disinterested and perfectly honest man. I am a peaceable one:—and so we shall go on well.

. . . .

"After all, you may trust me, that, taking Lord Cornwallis for all and all, the country will not see his like. The natives, with whom he could not mix nor converse but through an interpreter, acknowledge that he had always their good in view, although the mode in which he conveyed it to them was not always what they would themselves have chosen. His principles were always right; but with a more minute knowledge of detail he might have facilitated the operation and establishment of them. I shall be happy, however, to do as much good as he has done;—and will try.

"If you had not chatted with me as an Upham farmer, I should have suspected that you thought John Shore absorbed in the memory of Sir John, the Governor-General; and should not readily forgive the supposition. It is true, in one sense, that I hardly know myself; for I am so 'Sir Johnned,' that I am half-sick of it: but, however, I shall not change my manners, further than to avoid in conversation or conduct that which is indecent in my situation. There are certain things, Mr. Positive Negative, which would not be quite proper at a Governor-General's table: and although I might quote the authority of my Masters at the London Tavern, I prefer following their instructions. . . . . . Health and happiness attend you!

"Your affectionate."

"TO CHARLES GRANT, ESQ.

"MY DEAR SIR— "Bengal, Oct. 21, 1793.

"You have escaped an alarming crisis: and I hope that the same prudence, fortitude, and wisdom, which, under Providence, have preserved us from the deepest calamities, will conduct us into a settled trust and security. Yet I think it will be long before our situation ceases to be perilous. But I will not press upon you a thousand reflections which occur to me, and probably have to you. The madness of the French at Chandernagore was carried to the most violent extreme. One man regretted that he was not in Europe at the time of the King's destruction, to put his poniard in the Dauphin's breast: and a Monsieur Richemont, the leader of the democratic band, and the self-constituted Governor of the Settlement, observed, in Council—when it was proposed to say 'Te Deum' for the victories of the French in Flanders—that religion was abolished in France, and that all religions were the same;—that he would not dissent to a Revolution which seemed agreeable to the majority;—but, by way of indemnity (*dédommagement*) to the gods of India, he proposed that the Letter containing the intelligence which had occasioned the debate should be offered to the goddess Doorgah!

. . . .

"Although we have some sturdy democrats amongst us, political questions, upon the whole, are discussed here with tolerable moderation. We are all too busy to give up our time to politics. In England, they are the sole occupation of many. Here they come in as secondary objects of concern. As nothing so much inflames the advocates for democracy as reasonable opposition, I recommend silence when they are disposed to be violent. The danger of dissemination, from the nature of the society, is less here than in England; and as half or nine-tenths of mankind take up opinions with less selection than apples or pears, they are only anxious about them when controverted.

"I am much obliged to you for many pamphlets, which I have distributed amongst those who are disposed to read with attention; and I think there is less political violence than when I arrived. I apprehend no danger on this ground in India; but there is a very alarming spirit of discontent in the army, founded on various causes. I, from my situation, of course hear less than others; but I have learnt enough to think the matter very important, and I shall summarily communicate it.

"Yours very affectionately."

A Letter written about this time contains the following allusion to the prosperous internal condition of the Provinces, under the Permanent Settlement:—

"With respect to the affairs of this country, I shall only say, that, notwithstanding the croakings of Philip, or the prophecies of Edmund, it is more populous, more cultivated, and exhibits more industry, than ever I remember. The Jumma is irrevocably fixed; but the Zemindars will learn wisdom from sufferance."

Lord Cornwallis, in tendering the resignation of his government, corroborated in strong terms the general impression in favour of his successor:—

"Warmly interested," he observes, "as I shall ever feel for the general prosperity of the Company's affairs, and for the happiness of the people of various descriptions over whom I so long presided in this country, I must confess, that the knowledge that I am to be succeeded by Sir John Shore, with whose abilities and virtues I am so well acquainted, and for whom I have the most sincere friendship and esteem, affords me, on this occasion, the highest gratification."

Sir J. Shore acceded to the Government on the 28th of October; and he has recorded, both in public and private documents, his feelings on entering upon the discharge of his high and responsible functions. "If motives could be wanting," he thus addresses the Court of Directors, "to excite zeal and stimulate exertion, I have only to regard the conduct of my Predecessor, whose wise, upright, honourable, and successful administration of your affairs has left an example which his successor will strive to imitate, however arduous the task may prove."

His private allusions to, or reflections on, the same event are taken from a small MS. volume, of which but few pages remain, entitled "Selections from a Journal;" but sufficient to shew that, at this time, Sir J. Shore pursued a practice, the discontinuance of which afterwards occasioned him great regret.

"*Aug.* 26, 1793.—It is now time to deliberate on my future conduct, with humble prayer to God to guide me. The following points to be attended to in the transaction of business:—Never to promise any office, nor to give hopes of succession to offices likely to become vacant; and, in the disposal of offices, to consider Standing, Talents, Merit—To make a proper allotment of time, disposition of correspondence, recommendations, invitations, &c.; Lord Cornwallis's plan."

"*October.*—On the 28th, I commenced my public functions, after devout prayer to God:—

" 'Almighty God, who by thy providence hast ' called me to a station replete with difficulties! sen- ' sible of my own weakness and incapacity, I humbly ' implore Thee for health, strength, grace, and assis- ' tance, to enable me to discharge the duties thereof ' faithfully and diligently, in such a manner that the ' happiness of those who are placed under my go- ' vernment may be improved. Grant, I beseech ' thee, that I may on all occasions regulate my ' conduct by the rules and precepts of Thy Holy ' Word; and that, in all doubts, dangers, and ' embarrassments, I may always have grace to ' apply to Thee for support and assistance. ' Suffer me not to be led astray by folly, pride, ' or vanity, to overlook the wants, weaknesses, and ' miseries of my fellow-mortals, or to judge them ' with uncharitableness. Give me grace to restrain ' my appetite; and, in proportion as I am exalted, ' to become lowly and humble in my own opinion; ' and, before Thee, to consider myself evermore ' as Thy Minister, for promoting the happiness of ' Thy creatures, not only by my public actions, 'but by my example. And grant that, under my 'government, Religion and Morality may be ad'vanced! All which I humbly implore, through the 'mediation and in the name of our Blessed Saviour, 'Jesus Christ.'"

The Governor-General retained, in his present elevated station, as much as he could of his former unostentatious simplicity. He contented himself with but one-fourth of the number of Aides-de-camp with which Mr. Hastings had surrounded himself—his establishment consisting but of three. He had a body-guard of fifty horse, but never employed them: and he had no attendants to his carriage, not even a footman. Perhaps his dislike of pomp may have tended to an opposite extreme. It is but just to quote his own reflections on the subject:—

"In this respect," he observes, "I am well calculated for a society of equality; for I have ever looked slightly on externals. But, until I see a society formed on this principle better calculated to promote the happiness of mankind than that exhibited in France, let me live under a Government of King, Lords, and Commons; where I may do and think as I like, provided I observe the laws of the community, and avoid injury or offence to my neighbour."

The task on which Sir J. Shore entered was much more arduous than might be supposed by the cursory reader of Indian history. Beneath the apparent peace and prosperity of our Indian Empire lay concealed elements of internal disturbance and external war, which could be controlled only by unwearied energy, vigilance, and prudence.

The application and modification of the principles and rules introduced into the Revenue and Judicial departments—too hastily, in some respects by his predecessor—formed the principal object of his domestic administration. But he was anxiously employed during several years in accomplishing a reform in another and most important branch of the Service—the Company's Military Establishment; the regulation of which had been left unsettled, not without endangering the security of the Government.

Externally, France had been stripped of her dominions on the Continent of India; but her cruisers still swept the seas, and threatened the British trade with destruction. Tippoo's means of mischief had been crippled, but his resentment had been exasperated: whilst the restless ambition of the other Indian States required, on the part of the British Government, a steady front, readiness to repel aggression, and unflinching consistency of purpose.

The immediate attention of the Government was successfully directed to the protection of the trade, which had been left a prey to the French by Admiral Cornwallis, who had suddenly sailed for England in his frigate—the only King's ship in the Indian seas—contrary to the earnest entreaties of the Government. The responsibility for this proceeding rested rather on the Government at Home than on this gallant officer; as his frigate was not sea-worthy. His conduct had been equally independent under his brother's Administration: for he would remain during months at the Andaman Isles, without giving any intimation to the Governor-General where he might be found, should his services be required. He had been always on excellent terms with Sir J. Shore; and, as Lord Cornwallis remarked, in communication with him, laid aside his usual reserve and taciturnity.

"We have but one frigate in India," observes the Governor-General in a Letter, "and she is not in a condition to bear much sea or fighting; although the Admiral, I believe, would meet any two frigates in her without apprehension. He is a true son of Neptune; and would be very sorry, I believe, to miss a good battle. I would rather sit down to a good dinner; and will fight stoutly when I must do it."

Sir J. Shore resorted, in his present emergency, to an instrument which has never been found wanting, when required—the East-India Company's Naval Service. An armament, consisting of four of their ships and two coasting-vessels, was instantly fitted out, and, under the command of Commodore Mitchell, who was knighted for his conduct in this expedition, succeeded in capturing two privateers, equal in size to small frigates, and in engaging and beating off two large frigates and another stout ship. The Dutch Possessions were rescued, as well as the British Commerce. And the subsequent arrival of King's ships enabled the victorious traders to resume their ordinary employment.

The following entries close the Selections for the Journal at the end of 1793 and the commencement of the ensuing year:—

"December 1793.

"The year is now closed; and in it I have experienced more misery than in any year of my life. But I hope I have also gained something. My devotional practices, morning and evening, have been habitual, with scarce any interruptions. As Governor-General, I have refused to transact any business on Sundays, and have devoted portions of them to religious duties and reading. I have studied the Bible more than ever, and have endeavoured to be more attentive to its precepts. In the Scriptures, and in the resignation which they teach, I have found consolation under severe domestic calamities; and whatever cheerfulness I possess is owing to Religion, 'whose ways,' imperfectly as I practise them, 'are ways of pleasantness, and her paths, peace.' It has no tendency to excite in me gloom or moroseness. Let me, therefore, thank God for His undeserved goodness to me, and implore the continuance of those mercies which I have experienced, with humble resignation to whatever His providence may determine. In reviewing my past life, I cannot but feel the deepest shame and confusion."

"How, O Lord, have my years elapsed! Thou knowest;—and I thank Thee that Thou hast not punished me as I deserved; but that Thy mercy has tempered Thy justice. I feel the consequence of my sins and follies: Thy judgments are just, but Thy goodness is great; and it is of Thy great and undeserved mercies that I am not consumed. Forgive, I beseech Thee, what is past; and give me grace to improve the remainder of my allotted time. Create in me a clean heart, O God, and renew a right spirit within me! Grant, O Merciful God, that, deeply sensible of my former negligences and iniquities, I may truly repent thereof—that, under the continual guidance of Thy Holy Spirit, I may make continual advances in knowledge, piety, and sanctity, and be made meet for the inheritance of the Saints in light!—all which I implore through the alone merits and mediation of Jesus Christ, my Saviour and Redeemer."

"January 1, 1794.

"Hear my prayer, O Lord, and give ear unto the voice of my supplication! Thou knowest, O Lord, my heart; whilst all that I know is, that I am a weak miserable sinner, and that I cannot stand without Thy assistance. Oh! give me grace evermore to implore it, in the name of Thy Son our Saviour, 'who died for our sins, and rose again for our justification, and ever liveth to make intercession for us.' Expose me not to too severe trials; but help me with Thy grace to withstand such as it pleaseth thee I should undergo; and always teach me to rely on thee, as my Creator, Preserver, and Redeemer!"

"Almighty God, who knowest the wishes of my heart, and who alone can tell what is best for me, teach me ever to put my trust in Thee, and to say with humble and sincere resignation, Thy will be done! Make me truly feel, that what Thou givest, withholdest, or inflictest, proceeds alike from Thy bounty, mercy, and love to Thy creatures. Impress this conviction so deeply on my heart, that it may fortify my trust and reliance on Thy providence; strengthen my resignation to Thy dispensations; and increase my gratitude and thanksgivings for Thy favours and chastisements!"

"1794.

"O Lord, without whose power we cannot attain the knowledge or practice of Thy Holy Will and Precepts, enlighten my understanding, that I may understand the Scriptures. It is of Thy great mercy that I am made sensible of my ignorance and incapacity, and that I now offer up my supplications for knowledge and wisdom. Grant that I may never cease my efforts to obtain them; and impress on my heart an increasing conviction of the truths of Thy Holy Word, that I may savingly know the only True God, and Jesus Christ whom Thou hast sent. Enliven my hopes, I beseech Thee, O Lord, with the prospect of that happy eternity which Thou hast promised, through our Saviour Jesus Christ, to all who have true faith in Him and obey Thy Commandments. Suffer not my thoughts to be so occupied with earthly concerns and the affairs of time, as to forget that I am to live for ever in happiness or misery. Let the attainment of that happiness be the constant object of my thoughts and endeavours. Be these ever the object of my desires. Let my heart pant for Thee for ever, as the hart panteth for the water-brooks. Let my soul be athirst for God, even for Thee the Living God! Shew me, O Lord, the path of life! for in Thy Presence is the fulness of joy, and at Thy right-hand are pleasures for evermore."

CHAPTER X.

STATE OF THE ARMY—SIR J. SHORE SUCCEEDS TO SIR WILLIAM JONES AS PRESIDENT OF THE ASIATIC SOCIETY — MEASURES FOR THE PROMOTION OF RELIGION—SECOND ROHILLA WAR.

The unsettled state of the Company's army required the anxious attention of the Government. The following extracts from a Letter addressed to Mr. Dundas, on a Plan for Military Regulations framed and transmitted by Sir J. Shore to England, introduce those serious discontents which long prevailed among its officers. They had already represented to the Court of Directors the grievances of which they justly complained. These consisted chiefly of the superior advantages conferred on the officers of the King's Service. The former were precluded from attaining the rank of General, and, when commanding battalions, were only on a *par* with officers commanding companies in the King's Service; whilst the permission of temporary retirement on furlough was granted to the King's, but denied to the Company's officers. The dissatisfaction of the complainants had been increased by the tendency of some measures unadvisedly adopted by

Lord Cornwallis to induce them erroneously to suppose that Nobleman unfavourable to their views. And to secure the objects of their remonstrances, they had held secret meetings, but for the present abstained from more violent proceedings.

[Private.]

"TO THE RIGHT HON. HENRY DUNDAS.

"DEAR SIR— "January 1794.

. . . .

"The superior advantages of the Civil Service have long been viewed with a jealous eye by the Military; and it has happened, that those of the former have been augmented, whilst the emoluments of the latter, in various instances of improper commands, have been diminished. This must ever be the case; for no State can provide fortunes for all its subjects. But this argument alone will not satisfy the feelings. Throughout India, the Civil Authority is at the mercy of the Military; and the controul over the latter does not stand upon such firm foundations as in Europe. The situation of things here easily suggests the reflections arising from it, more than I should choose to detail. I would wish to obviate the occurrence of such reflections as far as possible, or, at least, to diminish their force by such an extension of rank and emolument to the officers as may be compatible with the funds and interests of Government. This is attempted in the Plan.

"In discussing future regulation, an appeal must not be made to a standard drawn from the existing state of things twenty years ago. I have closely attended to the progress of opinions in Bengal, and find them very different from what they were when I arrived in the country. The officers of the Bengal army were formerly, comparatively speaking, easy, thoughtless, and indifferent. You will now find the juniors considerate, careful, and reflecting. They compare the past with the present, and the present with the future; and the result suggests little hope or consolation. Nothing appears to me more dangerous to society, and to such a society as that of this country, as habitual discontent.—You will conclude that in this observation I carry my views beyond the present time, to the possible operation of natural and obvious principles.

"It is needless for me to expatiate upon the services of the army. History cannot, perhaps, shew more zeal, attachment, fortitude, and forbearance, than were exhibited by the British troops and officers during the late war. They have, on all occasions, evinced their regard for the honour and interests of their country; and, I doubt not, ever will. They are entitled to one particular merit—

that, though fully sensible of their services and exertions, these are never the subjects of conversation. I never hear details of hardships endured, or of dangers encountered, unless to gratify the solicitations of curiosity. But it is not in human nature to forget events of this kind; and reflection does, and will, suggest comparisons between their situation and their services.

"I beg you will do me the favour to consider that I am writing from Bengal, where the modes of thinking and social habits are drawn from a state of things which has no counterpart in Europe.

. . . .

"If practice had not been in opposition to the plainest reason, I should beg your excuse for mentioning that the officers at the head of the army should ever be men of capacity, vigour, and experience. You will conclude that I mean no reflection on General Sir Robert Abercrombie. Without reference therefore to him, I have only to request you will ask Lord Cornwallis's opinion on the abilities of the officers at the head of the armies in Bengal, Madras, and Bombay; and what he supposes our situation would be, if a war (which, on every principle, I from my heart deprecate) were to break out. Let him point out the men capable of conducting it, and possessing the confidence of their brother-officers and of the troops in general.

To the advantages of high rank, military experience, indefatigable zeal and exertion, and other talents, his Lordship joined the influence of his civil character, and enjoyed and exercised a power which could not be delegated to any other: and with less than this he would have found it difficult to have commanded success in the late war. The Plan proposes an arrangement for removing disqualified officers from the head of the army; and for the substitution of others, with an adequate compensation.

. . . .

"The medium through which our dominion over twenty-four millions of people is established presents a phænomenon which has no parallel in History—the natives themselves trained to discipline by our skill: and hitherto they have proved obedient, submissive, and attached to our Government, and their officers, in a degree, not exceeded by any troops in the world. It is unnecessary to expatiate upon what is so well known—that these natives are composed of Hindoos, or the followers of Brahma; and of Mahomedans; in a proportion, perhaps, of one hundred of the former to twenty of the latter. The religious prejudices of each sect are as opposite as they are to the Christian Religion, but the attachment of both to the principles in which they have been educated is equally strong. The Hindoo, satisfied with the possession of his own faith, has no intolerance, nor a wish to make proselytes. The Mahomedan has more zeal, mixed with a degree of contempt, not only for Hindoos, but for all other religions. The former has various prejudices, the observance of which he deems a point of honour as well as a tenet of his creed. The latter has also some, but fewer. The prejudices of both will occasionally interfere with strict attention to military discipline. In their habits, the Hindoo is temperate, parsimonious, and saving;—the Mahomedan, free, profuse, with a disposition to debauchery.

"But it is of the last importance to know the means by which the two sects have been consolidated into a mass which forms the bulwark of our power without violence to the prejudices of either, and how the body-composite has been trained to a sufficient degree of military subordination; that we may not, by any intemperate arrangements suggested by systems modelled and perfected under a different state of things, counteract those principles which have been adopted and pursued with so much success in this country. The explanation may be confined to a few words, by consulting, to a certain extent, the interests and feelings of our military subjects.

"The former is consulted in the high pay which the Seapoy receives; and which is not only sufficient for his personal maintenance, but affords a surplus for the exigencies of his family, and often for accumulation,—and in the regularity with which that pay is issued.

"The second, by an indulgence to his habits and prejudices, whether religious or otherwise: and for this purpose, severity of discipline is occasionally relaxed, but in no case where the relaxation is prejudicial.

"Desertion is often connived at.—The Seapoys are left undisturbed in the celebration of their holidays and ceremonials. In the event of embarkation, every devisable precaution is taken to guard and preserve their castes and prejudices; and imputed delinquency, under some restrictions as to the nature of the crime, is tried by Courts-martial formed of themselves. I shall add here—what I allow, in strictness, not applicable to the present argument — that the constitution of the Seapoy corps is such as to flatter the pride of the natives by gradations of rank which confer no dangerous powers.

"But, independently of the above considerations, as arising out of the system, much must be attributed to the discretion and attention of the Seapoy officers to the prejudices and habits of their men, which they in general, I believe, consider as a part of their duty: and without this attention, I may venture to say, that the indulgence of the Ruling Power will lose half its efficacy. To suppose the reverse, will furnish the truth of the affirmative. If the officers, at the time they allowed the Seapoys to perform the ceremonials of their religion, were to ridicule them, or refuse their countenance to them, the bond of attachment would soon be dissolved, and disaffection and aversion be substituted for subordination.

"The professional pride of a Bengal Seapoy is much greater than that of most European soldiers; and the cause of it may, in a great degree, be traced to the arbitrary principles of a despotic Government, which, depending on the Military for support, raised them above their level. This pride, properly flattered and directed, may be moulded into a spirit that shall render the exercise of strict discipline often unnecessary; and into an attachment not to be shaken.

"To conclude:—The native army may be compared to a two-edged weapon, of a good, but delicate temperament. It is fit for all purposes of utility. Do not aim at too great perfection in its temperament, lest you should destroy its edge, or break it into splinters that shall wound the maker of the instrument.

"Admitting the preceding remarks to be just, it follows that none should be entrusted with the command of Seapoys but those who have been educated among them; lest authority, acting from ignorance and prejudice, should loosen the ties of subordination. The Seapoys will naturally respect those who respect them. They will go further: they will, whilst other motives combine to promote it, imbibe an attachment, mixed with some degree of gratitude for indulgences granted by men of a persuasion different from themselves. They will, on the contrary, detest those who act upon opposite views.

"If any one, from folly, prejudice, or ignorance of mankind, should be so hardy as to consider the attachment to their prejudices in the natives of this country as preposterous, absurd, and subversive of military discipline, and in this persuasion entertain an idea of dissolving it, I should wish him to reflect, that he would then attempt to destroy a principle which, duly supported and attended to, is a security for subordination and fidelity. We should deem it fortunate that we can avail ourselves of such an instrument, as long as we can give their prejudices a proper direction, and preserve a controul over them sufficient for all purposes of discipline.

. . . .

"I have the honour to be, Sir,
"Your most obliged and obedient
humble Servant."

In his correspondence with Lady Shore, Sir John Shore thus alludes to one of those instances of preservation from danger, of which he had experienced several; and cherished the recollection of them, as confirming his early convictions of the superintending care of Divine Providence:—

"TO LADY SHORE.

"January 29, 1794.

. . . .

"I shall close this Letter with mentioning to you an instance for which my gratitude is due to my Creator. The cornice on one side of my bed-room, which is composed of solid masonry, fell down, three days ago, and would have destroyed an elephant if it had been under it. About six weeks ago, I used to sit in that room, and very near to the spot where the rubbish fell. When I was last in India, I had an escape of a similar nature; for two beams directly over my bed and couch, on which I used to repose often, were found to be rotten; so much so, that there was not an inch of solid wood in the ends by which they were supported. My life is at the disposal of the Creator; and I trust, in saving me from accidents, He will give me grace to devote it to His service, as far as I can. Mammon has too great a portion of it; but my habits and endeavours are more constant, and better directed, than they were.

"And now for a Letter to Tippoo Sultan.—There is a Translation for you.

"That the God of all Mercies may protect you and my dearest girl, is the prayer of

"Your ever affectionate and obliged Husband."

On one of those occasions, to which allusion has been made, the narrator of the above circumstances was on the Ganges; when the bank of the river fell a few minutes after his boat, which had been moored under it, had quitted its position, carrying down with it a large tree. At another time he was driving a phaëton in a dark night; and, mistaking his road, found himself on the edge of a deep river, into which another step of his horses would have precipitated him, when a sudden flash of lightning discovered to him his perilous situation. And once, an intimate friend struck with a ball from his rifle a bamboo which he held immediately above his head. He would allude to these incidents as illustrative of the favourite theme of his advancing years; which, as it will be seen, occupied not only his thoughts, but his pen.

"TO LADY SHORE.

"March ——.

"The inhabitants of Bengal, notwithstanding Mr. Burke's assertion, are happier under our administration than ever they were under the Mahomedan controul. For thirty years they have been free from wars, in the full enjoyment of peace, without invasion. No molestation is offered to their prejudices; no insult to their superstitions; and the Government is ever endeavouring to form new Regulations for their happiness. I will not affirm that they always approve our modes;—but the principles are sound. Yet I would not engage that this country will remain fifty years longer under our dominion;—and I think I can foresee accidents which may subvert it."

. . . .

The following Notice occurs of an event which spread a gloom over the public mind in India, Native as well as European; and was deplored by none of his friends more deeply, both on public and private accounts, than by the Governor-General—the death of Sir William Jones.

"TO LADY SHORE.

"April 27, 1793.

"I have just received another lesson of the vanity of human expectations and enjoyments, in the death of Sir William Jones; of whom it may be said, that he has scarce left his equal behind. In literary acquisitions, and in science, he had no competitor; and his principles were as sound as his learning was extensive;—to all which he added humanity, charity, liberality, and a familiarity of conversation, on all topics, which few possess. At the Gardens, he was my neighbour; and his servant this morning called me to receive his last sighs. I went over immediately, but arrived too late: he had breathed his last; but his extremities were warm. It is fortunate for me that I was spared the sight of his expiring struggles; which, however, could scarce have been felt. I have often regretted, as I flatter myself he also did, that our different avocations prevented our meeting as constantly as we both wished; but I have now reason to be glad that it was otherwise; as the increase of regard from the frequency of intercourse would have added bitterness to the sorrow I feel for his loss. We have both of us the same scene to go through; but when, where, or how it is to happen, the Almighty alone knows:—and that the hour may not fall heavily upon us, and still more heavily on the survivor, let us pray to Him for grace to live according to His laws.

. . . .

"Some time ago, I sent to Sir William Jones the original of the following beautiful Sonnet by an Italian author*. I give you the Translation, from 'Sir Charles Grandison':—

'See a fond mother, encircled by her Children! 'With pious tenderness, she looks round, and her 'soul even melts with maternal love. One she 'kisses in the forehead, and clasps another to her 'bosom: one she sits upon her knee, and finds a 'seat upon her foot for another: and while, by their 'actions, their lisping words, and asking eyes, she 'understands their various numberless little wishes, 'to these she dispenses a look—a word to those: 'and whether she smiles or frowns, it is all in 'tender love.'

"Such to us, though infinitely high and awful, is Providence. So it watches over us; comforting these, providing for those, listening to all, assisting every one. If sometimes it denies the favour we implore, it denies but to invite our most earnest prayers; or, seeming to deny a blessing, grants one in that refusal.

"In this conclusion we both agree: and my principal source of regret is, that the cares of this life interrupt my meditations on Eternity. If I had thought so seriously on this subject as I have since done, I should scarce have ventured again to India; for what is life, compared to immortality? Our separation was perhaps necessary for the happiness of both of us. In this light I will ever endeavour to view it.

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* Filicaia.

"Since writing the above, I have performed my usual devotions, and have read the 17th and 18th Sermons of Jortin, vol. I. The first of the two is very applicable to the tenour of my present reflections; and there is a quotation in it from the Testament, which, though not applicable, I hope, to Sir William, puts me in mind of a conversation that we lately had. He told me the amount of his fortune, and asked me if it were sufficient to live comfortably on in England. He visited me one evening for the express purpose of obtaining my opinion. Knowing, as I did, his moderation and economy, I satisfied him that he had an ample stock: and he had resolved not to stay beyond the next season, in January. But his soul has been this day required of him. Of all the taxes to which mortality is subject, the loss of our friends is the severest. The greatest affliction I ever experienced, excepting that of my first separation from you, was on account of the death of Cleveland.

But its impression was promoted by pre-existing indisposition; and I had not then learnt to seek for consolation in its true sources. For ten days I scarcely ate or drank;—for many weeks, could not stop my sighs."

. . . .

"*May* 1.—At my durbar yesterday I had proofs of the affection entertained by the natives for Sir William Jones. The Professors of the Hindu Law, who were in the habit of attendance upon him, burst into unrestrained tears when they spoke to me, and grief clouded many countenances. His death is really a national loss. I pass his late residence, the house in which he died, daily, in my visits to my gardens."

. . . .

"*May.*—The Asiatic Society mean to do me the honour of being their President, in the room of Sir William Jones. This will occupy but a small portion of my time, and not unpleasantly."

. . . .

In his Inaugural Discourse on succeeding to the Chair of the Asiatic Society, Sir J. Shore bestowed an eloquent tribute, dictated no less by private affection than by public gratitude, on the transcendant merits of his predecessor. In his animated and comprehensive review of Sir W. Jones's literary acquirements and social virtues may be traced the original outlines of the portrait which has identified his own reputation with that of the amiable Friend and illustrious Scholar whose loss he now mourned. (See Appendix III.)

Sir J. Shore's correspondence, and the plans which occupied his attention, indicate his lively interest in the important subject of converting the natives of India to Christianity. As yet, no measures had been adopted for the purpose, in Bengal. The Rev. David Brown, though inspired by Missionary zeal, had found it necessary to restrict his pastoral labours to his own European congregation, deeming the first essential step towards the attainment of ulterior objects—the improvement of the character, and awakening the Christian charity of his hitherto-neglected fellow-countrymen: and in these views he was warmly supported by the exertions and example of the Governor-General. Dr. Buchanan's ardent spirit and enterprising industry were soon after enlisted in the cause. But during the whole period of his Government, Sir J. Shore could derive practical encouragement respecting Missionary prospects only from the successful labours, in another part of India, of the apostolic Swartz, whose character and services, it will be seen in the sequel, he fully appreciated.

"TO CHARLES GRANT, ESQ.

"May 5, 1794.

"I have at last gratified your friend Mr. Brown's impatience, and my own feelings, in the appropriation of a place for Divine Worship in the New Fort. The Resolutions are not yet public; but the arrangement is formed, and the Chief Engineer preparing his estimate.

"I have often reflected upon a subject which you, Mr. Wilberforce, and every conscientious man, must have much at heart—the introduction of knowledge among the natives of this country, with a view to the dissemination of those principles which we know and believe to be the foundation of temporal and eternal welfare; without being able to determine on the mode. The difficulties to be encountered and surmounted are many. Our countrymen in general are by no means disposed to assist the plan;—some, from indifference; others, from political considerations; and some, from motives of infidelity. Some would view the attempts without concern; others would ridicule or oppose them. You want Teachers of a proper character; men who, from zeal, would be content to serve God alone, without coveting Mammon; who would wish for no riches but the rewards of piety, and a life dedicated to the propagation of Truth. A mixed character will want that respectability which is of the utmost importance in giving weight to precept and instructions. If the attempt were made with the declared support and authority of Government, by the aid of misrepresentations it would excite alarm. I observe also the indisposition towards the attempt in England, and how much the sentiments and propositions of Mr. Wilberforce were misconstrued. I cannot say all that occurs to me on this subject; but, considering all things, and the necessity of accommodating the plan to the objections made to it, I think the proposition should be for the Company to erect Chapels at Patna, Dacca, and Moorshedabad, and at the Military Stations of Bishampoor and Bankipoor, for the use and edification of *Christians;*—that the Chaplains should be appointed at the recommendation of the Archbishop of Canterbury, with salaries not exceeding 150 Rs. per month. Upon this foundation, to which no objection but the expense can be made—and that ought not to be mentioned—the plan of instruction may be raised; and zeal and moderation in the Chaplains will ensure success. The natural children of the soldiers will be the first to receive instruction: and Government cannot refuse its assistance in supplying a fund for their preservation and tuition. I give you loose hints only; for I have much more to do and to write than I can well execute."

"I am your affectionate," &c.

TO W. WILBERFORCE, ESQ.

"DEAR SIR— "May 15, 1794.

"With scarce a moment to spare, I cannot deny myself the satisfaction of acknowledging your obliging Letter of the 18th of October last. Amongst the happy days of my life, I reckon those passed in your society; and I hope long to feel the influence of your example and character. On the subject of your Letter, I have given my sentiments, in a cursory way, to Mr. Grant: my time and health do not admit of more; yet the hints are the result of frequent reflection. No man can form a judgment of the natives of this country, or of the Europeans here, who has not visited it—an observation necessary to be attended to in reading my suggestions to Mr. Grant, who, I think, will see the propriety of them. The Company expect principle and honesty in their Servants, without endeavouring to establish the foundation of them. Why do not they direct Churches to be erected?

. . . .

"Infidelity is too prevalent in Bengal; and I make it a point, therefore, to avow my principles; which I trust are sufficiently supported by my practice, in the hopes that my example may have an effect upon those who follow example alone;

nor do I ever withhold advice or encouragement, when I think it will be beneficial. We want a good Preacher in Calcutta. A man must have respect for Religion before he can attend to the sermons of a ————, or a ————. Their expositions of the Law of Christ, however unexceptionable in matter, are little calculated to enforce it. I have heard one of the finest sermons in Jortin delivered in a manner, by ——, that I scarce knew it again, although it was perfectly familiar to me.

. . . .

"I beg my respects to Mr. Thornton; and am, with the greatest esteem, Dear Sir,

"Your very obedient humble Servant."

It appears, from a published Letter of the Rev. David Brown, that Sir J. Shore adopted immediate measures for carrying into effect arrangements for supplying the Military Stations with Churches and Chaplains; whilst the opening of Divine Service in the Fort produced, amongst other very beneficial results, the greatly-improved attention of the British to the observance of Public Worship, and increased regard for the Sacred Day.*

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* See "Memorial Sketches," p. 23.

"TO WILLIAM BENSLEY, ESQ.

"MY DEAR SIR— "Bengal, May 14, 1794.

. . . .

"Of all the characters with whom I have been associated in public business, I never met with a more agreeable colleague than General Sir Robert Abercrombie. He is a man of a real good-nature, easy, affable, and accommodating; ever ready to promote, and never disposed to retard, business. In this and some other respects, from what I recollect was said of him in England, his disposition has been misunderstood. He is certainly a man of the strictest integrity—incapable of doing any thing that he conscientiously thought wrong. He is generous, hospitable, friendly, and obliging; with very little concern as to pecuniary matters. In all military matters he seems perfectly free from the little jealousy of etiquette; and, so far from shewing any wish to encroach upon my privileges or authority, would, I believe, himself point out to me that I am entitled to. I am told he is warm, when opposed; but of this I have had no experience; and I really esteem him. You will be pleased to learn these sentiments from me.

. . . .

"I am, My dear Friend," &c.

"TO THE SAME.

"DEAR SIR— "Bengal, Aug. 16, 1794.

. . . .

"Five nights out of six I am without sleep; and rise in the morning with a languor and debility which I cannot describe—my body enervated, my head confused, and all my faculties stupefied. But business never stops; and in these circumstances I am obliged to decide upon points of the greatest importance, which do not admit of delay. The Governor-General of India ought to be of a better temperament: but if, from a sense of disappointment in my pecuniary expectations, I should suppress these circumstances, I should deem myself unworthy of your friendship; and of the public confidence, which has raised me to the honourable situation which I hold.

"In the common occurrences of the Government I do not feel much difficulty; and if I could be satisfied with a languid discharge of official duty, I might get through it, perhaps, for two years more. But to preserve the British Empire in India—to render improvement progressive—to guard against events that may shake or disarrange our system—foresight, deliberation, reflection, and combination, are necessary; and in these points I feel the want of those powers which have yielded to the impression of the climate. My friends sometimes flatter me, by saying, 'Business is kept up; and things go on well.' Nothing, I hope, has occurred of material neglect or detriment; but they do not see or feel as I do. To do that, they must be in my situation. A man who holds an office, thinks, if he receives answers to his public applications, or resolutions upon them, regularly, that all goes well—judging from the limited occurrences of his own business only. My views extend further, whilst I feel the want of powers to embrace the objects of them.

"For these reasons, if Lord Hobart* should arrive with a provisional appointment to succeed me—without some great alteration in my health which will justify hopes of enjoying a greater portion of it during the next year—I mean to embark for England in some of the returning ships of next season: otherwise, certainly not, unless my health should prove an absolute disqualification.—I could not justify myself in leaving the Government with my friend Speke; as he has worse health than I have.

. . . .

"I beg my respects to Mr. Routledge; and am,

"My dear Sir, with real regard," &c. &c.

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* Appointed Governor of Madras, with a provisional succession to the Governor-Generalship; afterwards Earl of Buckinghamshire, and President of the Board of Controul.

"TO THE RIGHT HON. HENRY DUNDAS.

"DEAR SIR— "Bengal, Aug. 21, 1794.

"I have too much reason to fear that the Mahrattas and Nizam will go to war: although I am not without hopes that their contests will be reconciled without hostilities, by concessions on the part of the Nizam. There is a strong personal animosity between his Minister and Balagee Pundit. The former is vain, presumptuous, fickle, and insincere: the latter, cool, wary, firm, and sensible of his own superiority both in the cabinet and the field. I never expected much from our mediation, which has been interposed; as the Mahrattas are well aware of the limitations under which it can be urged: and if these limitations did not exist, I should still be disinclined to run the risk of a war with the Peshwah, for the purpose of supporting the tottering fabric of the Nizam's Government, which is ready to fall, from its own weakness. The Mahratta influence over the Nizam's country is so incorporated with the internal administration, that it would require uncommon abilities, energy, and perseverance, to destroy it; and, as it exists, the Nizam can hardly be called an Independent Prince. The latest communication on this subject accompanies my Address to the Court of Directors.

. . . .

"I have the honour to be," &c. &c.

MARQUIS CORNWALLIS TO SIR J. SHORE.

"DEAR SIR— "London, April 17, 1794.

. . . .

"This country is far from enjoying the tranquil state which now happily pervades all our Asiatic dominions. It is very difficult to make war, at least upon the Continent, with any prospect of success; but it is impossible to make peace, without fraternizing with the gang of murderers on the other side of the water, and following their bloody example. Three powerful factions have been guillotined within these last three months—those of Brissot, Heber, and Danton. The rage for blood, however, seems insatiable; and the people see that of their former demagogues flow with as much pleasure, as they did that of the Royalists.

"If Robespierre possessed the power and temporary inclination to make peace, and to suffer the other nations of Europe to live quietly under the Governments of their own choice, his life could hardly be expected to last another month; and, indeed, it is astonishing, considering the prodigious number that he has put to death, that it has continued so long. My wish would lead me to retire quietly into Suffolk: but this is not a time for a man who really loves his country to indulge selfish inclinations; and I am afraid that I shall be compelled to take the field, under much less promising auspices than I did in 1791.

. . . .

"Lord Hobart goes out, I sincerely believe, with the best intentions: and I assured him that you would be disposed to give him any information in your power, whenever he had occasion to apply.

. . . .

"I am, dear Sir,
"Your most obedient and faithful Servant,
"CORNWALLIS."

"THE SAME TO THE SAME.

"DEAR SIR— "Brome, September 7, 1794.

. . . .

"The French, although they have neither security of person or property—although the streets of Paris and all their principal towns are daily streaming with blood—and their Government, if such it can be called, is the most tyrannical and cruel that ever existed—still carry on the war with a vigour and energy that is scarcely to be conceived: and when one set of butchers are themselves slaughtered at Paris, the Army pays the same deference to their murderers as they had before done to the villains whose heads they had cut off. Our success, however, has been almost complete everywhere, except on the Continent, where nothing but disgrace has attended us: but I think our misfortunes have been more owing to the incapacity and misconduct of our Leaders than to any peculiar merit or good behaviour of the enemy. How we are to get out of the war, and what effect the continuance of it, and the consequent increase of taxes, may have upon the temper of this country, it is difficult to foresee; but the present opposition in both Houses is truly contemptible, both as to number and character; and I believe I may safely say that nine-tenths of the nation at large are most heartily disposed to support the British Constitution.

"Mr. Dundas just mentioned to me, on my arrival in England, his intention that Duncan should be Governor of Bombay: and you will easily conceive, that, knowing, as I did, the importance of a good Government in our new acquisitions on the Malabar coast, I warmly encouraged and cultivated this favourable disposition in the Board of Controul. A party, however, in the Court of Directors have hitherto contrived to defeat Mr. Dundas's plan; wishing, I suppose, to get a Governor who would be more attentive to their private recommendations and jobs than to the measures that would be most likely to promote and secure the happiness of the inhabitants, and the permanent interests of the Company and of Great Britain. Mr. Dundas declares, that if any person should be appointed (for they talked of Seton), he will positively recall him: so that I suppose, in the end, Duncan will prevail.

"I am well aware of the importance of paying immediate attention to the Military Establishment of India. I believe I before told you, that I had collected all the information I could on the subject, previous to my departure from India. On my passage home, I drew out a plan for new-modelling the Indian army; which is to be brought forward as soon as Parliament meets; and which will, I trust, prove advantageous to the public service, and give as general satisfaction to the Officers as can be expected from a measure of that kind, where so many different interests are concerned.

"I hope this Letter will find Lady Shore and yourself in perfect health; and am, with great truth, most sincerely yours,

"CORNWALLIS."

Towards the close of 1794, Sir John Shore was engaged in a brief but bloody sequel to that memorable Rohilla War, in the conduct of which Mr. Hastings had borne a principal and much-censured part. At the former of these periods, the Rohillas, a tribe of Afghans, who had taken possession of the fertile plains on the left bank of the Ganges, contiguous to Oude, had been exterminated, or expelled from their lands, with the exception of the district of Rampoor. This tract of country had been reserved to a Chief named Fyzoollah Khan, who had, by good management, much increased its culture and wealth. The British Government, on his death, confirmed the succession to his son, Mahommed Ali; rejecting, on just grounds, the Vizier of Oude; who would have been otherwise entitled, by the laws of Hindostan, to claim the resumption of the territories (*Jaghire*) assigned to the Rohilla Chief. But the equitable decision of the Government was frustrated by an event not uncommon in Eastern History — the murder of Mahommed Ali, by his younger brother, Gholam Mahommed. The usurper mustered the Rohilla Chiefs in support of his pretensions, gave battle to the British forces led by the Commander-in-Chief, and was not defeated till after temporary advantage had been gained by his fierce followers, exasperated by the recollection of former severity. The Jaghirdar was transferred by Sir R. Abercrombie to the next of kin to the murdered youth.

"The Governor-General was dissatisfied in part with the course pursued in this affair by the Commander-in-Chief; though he complimented him, in the following terms, on his gallantry and moderation:—

[**Secret.**]

"TO GENERAL SIR ROBERT ABERCROMBIE, K.B.

"MY DEAR SIR— "Calcutta, Nov. 6, 1794.

"I have this moment received your Express, announcing your victory over the infatuated Rohillas, and their desperate chief, Golam Mahommed Khan; and I lose not a moment in offering you my sincere congratulations on your brilliant success. The moderation and humanity of your conduct preceding the action add greatly to the honour which you have acquired by it: and I have only to join with you in regretting the loss of so many valuable and respectable lives. I shall be happy to learn that the submission of the Rohillas renders unnecessary any further exertion of that bravery which has ever distinguished the Officers and troops of our armies in India.

"By some accident, a sheet of your Letter was omitted. You will receive a Public Answer without delay. The valour of the Rohillas seems to have exceeded every thing but that of our own troops;—that is, indeed, beyond all commendation!

"I have the honour to be," &c. &c.

"TO THE SAME.

"SIR— "November 8, 1794.

. . . .

"The Rohillas are a desperate, proud, vindictive, treacherous people; and while Golam Mahommed can make head, he will find new accession of followers. This, at least, is what I think possible; and certainly to be guarded against.

"You are in a situation to form a better judgment than I can, on reflecting upon our Resolutions. I have not a doubt of the propriety of them: there never was a clearer case, in my opinion, nor one that called more for the just exertions of the Company's arms; and all my regret arises from the unhappy but unavoidable accidents of warfare, as affecting individuals. To have compromised with an usurper and assassin would have reflected indelible disgrace on the British Nation. We have espoused the cause of honour, justice, and integrity, on the fairest and most liberal principles, without any motives of interest, but those of self-defence. I fear no responsibility when I am sure of my principles, as in the present case. Indeed, no man doubts the propriety of our Resolutions.

"Considering Golam Mahommed as an usurper and assassin, we may, perhaps, have been too moderate. This I do not regret, as it proves our humanity. He himself proposes submission and allegiance at the moment he comes to fight us. I lament the necessity which compelled us to go to war with him: but what would the consequences have been, if he had been allowed to gain strength?

"This, I think, will be a proper time for endeavouring to make the Vizier put his army on a better footing; and you will oblige me by considering in what mode this might be done, and favour me, at leisure, with your sentiments upon it. But the immediate object is, to crush the rebel, and to provide for any apprehended contingencies.

. . . .

The Governor-General disapproved, but eventually sanctioned, the arrangement adopted by the Commander-in-chief. He blamed the unjustifiable leniency exhibited by the latter, in admitting Gholam Mahommed, a fratricide and usurper, to terms—coupled with a promise of pardon, personal security, and a provision; and in entering into a treaty with part of his forces before they had laid down their arms: and also his mistake, in granting the succession to the infant son of Mahommed Ali, contrary to the determination of the Government, which was to deprive the family of Fyzoollah Khan of the Jaghirdar, in consequence of the universal participation of the Rohilla Chief in the rebellion. This decision had been adopted after the battle*.

"TO GENERAL SIR ROBERT ABERCROMBIE.

"January 5, 1795.

. . . .

"I have already explained to you, in part, the embarrassment which we suffered from the dilemma in which we were placed by the discordance of your Resolutions with ours.

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* Sir J. Malcolm (Hist. I. 167), and Mr. Mill, adopting his mistake, have both erroneously stated the period at which the Governor-General resolved to deprive Fyzoollah Khan's family of the Jaghirdar. Mr. Mill thus grounds on his hypothesis a direct charge of injustice:—"It was the purpose of the Governor-General to wrest the country entirely from the family of Fyzoollah Khan, notwithstanding the right of the son of Mahommed Ali guaranteed by the British Government," &c. (Hist. VI. 40.) Sir J. Shore's version of the transaction being different (Letter to the Court of Directors, Dec. 31, 1794):—"To this period, the Honourable Court will observe the uniform consistency of our Resolutions, that the Jaghire, notwithstanding the guilt of Gholam Mahommed Khan, should be conferred upon some other of the family: it was *subsequent to the news of the engagement* that an alteration took place in them. By supporting the cause of murder and usurpation, the Rohilla Chiefs had forfeited all claims to indulgence; and their aims and exertions in favour of Gholam Mahommed proved the necessity of restraining their means and capacity for endangering the safety of the territories of your ally, the Vizier. Upon these considerations I proposed the entire resumption of the Jaghire, under such limitations and modifications as justice or humanity suggested."

. . . .

"The substance of what I have said may be reduced to a few lines—that I think the reception of Golam Mahommed, a proclaimed fratricide and usurper, fundamentally wrong; and more so, from the mode of his reception. Your forbearance, in not attacking the Rohillas afterwards, was right, as it would have exposed us to a charge of treachery and inhumanity; but that the forbearance, from its protraction, became liable to danger, and, as such, could not be longer justified. It was certainly my wish to avoid recording the sentiments here stated; and our inductions and opinions were dictated by the wish, and a desire at the same time, to avoid giving a direct sanction to what we could not approve. I should have been happy if we could have effected this in a mode which would have given you less concern. We have, however, explained your forbearance on justifiable principles, and have said sufficient in favour of the succession."

"TO THE SAME.

"January 29, 1795.

. . . .

"Whatever difference of opinion may exist between us, as to the means of attaining our object, none can ever arise as to the object itself; and I trust it is unnecessary to assure you that no man living can entertain a higher sense of the irreproachable honour and integrity of your public and private character than I do, or of your zeal to promote the public good."

At the close of this year, Sir J. Shore enjoyed the happiness of receiving Lady Shore and his daughter in safety. And he had also the gratification of hearing of the final appointment of Lord Hobart to the Government of Madras, coupled with the provisional succession to the Supreme Government; which would relieve his mind from anxiety, should his own resignation be rendered necessary by the state of his health.

"TO WILLIAM BENSLEY, ESQ.

"MY DEAR FRIEND— "Bengal, December 1794.

. . . .

"I really have had a great deal to do. The Political Department of Government, which is almost exclusively conducted by me, as far as the executive detail is concerned, daily augments in quantum and importance.

. . . .

"But what has occupied so large a portion of my time, is, giving currency to the Regulations of my predecessor, and stability to the arrangements formed by him. I am happy to reflect that my attention to these points has not been unsuccessful, and that his plans are fairly and usefully administered. He advanced with a confidence which I should have wanted; but he advanced wisely. With a little more previous preparation, the execution of his arrangement would have been easier: but that difficulty is now surmounted, and the Judicial System proceeds well. People who reason from former practice and experience only, rather than from principles, have objected to his arrangements; but the principles are just; and although the practice was not familiar to the natives, they have accommodated themselves to it. But we are to remember, that the race which existed when we acquired the government of the country have nearly died away, and that the new generation will adopt the practices and principles of Administration and grow familiar to them. Two objections of importance only occur to the arrangements—the additional business imposed upon the Supreme Authority, and the difficulty of finding a sufficient number of able Officers for the execution of them. There are others of a trifling nature, which we correct in our progress: and, upon the whole, I am satisfied that his Lordship's plan was solid, wise, and has proved beneficial to the country. The people in general enjoy a security of property which they never possessed, and the country is flourishing and improving. The finances of the country will suffer no dilapidations; and the regularity of system has superseded the exercise of discretional authority. Some arrangement will be necessary respecting the Supreme Court of Judicature; and upon this subject I hope to submit a Report and Propositions to the Court of Directors, by the ships of this season."

"I am, My dear Friend," &c. &c.

"TO SIR F. BARING.

"MY DEAR SIR— "January 1st, 1795.

"I see, with a concern I cannot express, the probable duration of war: and if the French should be able to resist the combination against them, I fear that peace must be made on bad terms. The most gloomy apprehensions, and more than I am able to state, often occur to me. Is the zeal in England stimulated by the barbarities in France, or by conviction of the blessings of our own Constitution? In one case, it is liable to be shaken by a thousand accidents, and must necessarily grow cold: in the other, with prudence, it may hold out. Yet it appears to me that the Constitution of England was something like mine before Lady Shore's arrival, under the pressure of a constant weight; which, though it might not always be felt, never ceased its operation. I dread the activity of the discontented and the . . . . After all, experience, reflection, history, and observation, all conspire to augment my veneration and regard for a Constitution, under which I can think, live, and act as I please, whilst I offend not the laws or others. My property is safe, and my person secure; and sooner than run the risk of a subversion of this system, I would willingly and cheerfully contribute half my fortune to general relief, by the payment of a proportion of the grand incumbrance —the National Debt. The evils complained of, if duly traced, will be found to result from the excellence of our Constitution. To that, the opulence of the country is owing; and opulence has brought her usual train of evils—dissipation, extravagance, and dependence, and a want of public virtue. Our defects are in our morals, not in our laws. Mind the former; and the latter will be found sufficient for public and private happiness. You will excuse the rapidity of these reflections, which I could amplify.

"As the Governor of a great Country and populous Settlement, I hold it a principle to set an example of Morality and Religion. To the latter, I am attached by principle and conviction; and if my conduct or conversation should save one man from vice, I shall hold myself well rewarded. It is an old maxim, that 'Laws without morals are of no avail.' I do not, however, pretend to the systematic propriety of conduct which my friend Charles Grant possesses.

"I have written to my friends Bensley and Inglis; and with my best wishes to Lady Baring,

"I remain, My dear Sir," &c. &c.

"TO CHARLES GRANT, ESQ.

"MY DEAR SIR— "Bengal, March 7, 1795.

"Your reflections on the state of Public Affairs are too interesting to me not to merit my attention and best thanks. I own that I am sometimes tempted to look with an eye of despondency towards Europe. The sense of danger is fortunately alarmed; and prudence, under Providence, may save my country from dangers which cannot be apprehended without melancholy. But, without an alteration in morals and manners, the day of reckoning will be inevitable, whether or not in my time. Whilst we start with horror from the miseries which destroy the vitals of France, we ought to search well into the causes of them, and probe ourselves, to see whether they exist in any, and in what degree, among ourselves. If the conduct of the Nobility in that distracted nation had not thrown down the barrier of respect with which they were regarded—if they had not restrained the powers of benevolence by profusion, and lost the public esteem by levity and dissipation—if they had not made the inequality of fortune more grating by the abuse of opulence and power—and if the Clergy had not exposed themselves to ridicule, by their folly, their ignorance, and their immorality—we should never have seen that subversion of society which has taken place. Some alteration in the Constitution of France might have happened, but it would not have proceeded to the lengths of desolation and extermination. I know that in England things are very different; that the Law is the measure of Authority, and that the law is equal; that the Clergy are better informed, and their flocks better instructed; that the principles of Religion, however adopted, are generally known among us; that the feudal authority of the Nobility in France is not known among us; that there is a due gradation in the ranks of society which connects the extremes, without exhibiting them in perpetual contrast; that the middle order of society in England is respectable; and that property is more equally diffused than it was in France. Every man who reflects must, moreover, see that the opulence of the kingdom is the result of that liberty and security which the Constitution affords us; and all history shews us that the sum of happiness is as great in England as in any country in the world. But whilst we feel the value of our Constitution—whilst we regard it as a citadel which ought not to be surrendered—whilst we have life to defend it—let us be careful to strengthen the defences which surround it, by amending ourselves. Let those whom situation, rank, and fortune, have exalted to be examples to the community, exhibit proper examples—let them shew their respect for Religion and Morality by their attention to the duties and practice of both—let them cultivate the public esteem by the decency and propriety of their conduct, and conciliate affection by benevolence. Instead of proposing innovations in the Constitution, which may degrade them to the lowest condition, let them study to improve themselves. It is an old observation, that 'Laws without Morals are of little avail.' The importance of the personal conduct of individuals to the security of the Constitution is much greater than people in general are aware of; and the influence of virtue is the best possible restraint upon the disorders of society. A general good example will do more to check that licentiousness, which is the source of discontent and disorder, than all the penalties of law. Virtue and true Religion have a native dignity, which imposes awe while it attracts love.

"I rejoice from my heart at the confidence which the people have in our present Ministry;—their conduct entitles them to it. But I should be happy to find that a sense of national danger produced in the community what apprehension does in the individual—a sense of Religion.

. . . .

"I am your affectionate."

CHAPTER XI.

OBSERVANCE OF STATUTARY RESTRICTIONS IN POLICY TOWARD THE NATIVE STATES—ASSISTANCE REFUSED TO THE NIZAM—STATE OF THE ARMY—DISCONTENTS, AND REGULATIONS—CONTROVERSIES WITH THE MADRAS GOVERNMENT RESPECTING THE CARNATIC AND TANJORE.

THE firmness of Sir J. Shore's determination, in conformity to Legislative Restrictions and his own mature judgment, to abstain, except defensively, from interference with the domestic or international affairs of the Indian States was put to the test on some important occasions. The year 1794, distinguished by the deaths of several Native Potentates, might have been regarded fortunate by our Rulers at an earlier period of Indian history. But Nabob-making, as the Governor-General observes, had ceased to be a profitable trade. He had no disposition to turn it to private account; nor did he deem it desirable, on public grounds.

Amongst the Sovereigns who vanished from the political stage about this time, was the celebrated Mahratta Chieftain, Mahdajee Sindiah, who had availed himself of the ascendancy he had acquired over the various branches of the powerful Confederacy of which he was a member, to subjugate the neighbouring provinces—to extend his conquests to Delhi, and dethrone the Mogul, and to imprison him in his own ancient capital. Sir J. Shore assigns, in his Minute of April 7, 1794, his reasons for resisting the inducements, not unimportant, which might have tempted a more vacillating or ambitious mind to interpose in regulating the succession. And he was enabled, at the close of 1796, whilst taking a retrospective view of his measures, to observe, in addressing the Court of Directors, "that the result of his policy had been most satisfactory; that forbearance had effected more than intrigues and negociations, by which he could easily have shaken the Mahratta Empire to its foundations. . . . . In the moderation, justice, and good faith of our conduct at all times, and in transactions with our Allies and those who are dependent upon the Company for protection, the true principles of general precaution and counteraction must be found; and we adopt them no less from conviction than authority, as the wisest and safest, and indeed only true policy."

But the question of interference had been embarrassed by circumstances of greater anxiety and perplexity, on the occurrence of another event. As Sir J. Shore's decision in this case involved what might be considered, on the first view, too rigorous an application of his principle, and has been especially condemned by the impugners of the policy prescribed to him by the Legislature—and conscientiously, as they acknowledge, adhered to by himself—it is due to his reputation to state the reasons on which it was grounded, and to test their soundness by the result.

The British Government formed, in 1790, a Tripartite Treaty with the Mahrattas and the Nizam; stipulating, that in the event of Tippoo attacking either of the three contracting parties, the other two should exert their utmost efforts to repel the aggression, if satisfied of its injustice. Hostilities subsequently arose between the Nizam and the Mahrattas, originating in the wanton provocation foolishly offered by the former to his more powerful neighbours; and Tippoo manifested a design of assisting the Mahrattas. The Governor-General found it necessary to decide whether such a combination would oblige him to support the Nizam. In his Minute of Feb. 18, 1795, he fully discusses the question, and, on the grounds both of justice and expediency, determines it in the negative.

In reference to the first point, he maintains that the treaty, being tripartite, was binding only on the contracting Powers so long as peace subsisted amongst them—that it could never have been designed to preclude either of the contracting parties from entering into alliance with Tippoo for the purpose of self-defence—that, should a union with that Prince, from ambitious motives, or with a view to offensive projects, be deemed an infraction of the treaty, the responsibility rested in the present instance solely on the Nizam, who had been the aggressor—that the British Government, if under obligations to assist the Nizam against Tippoo, would be equally bound to support the Mahrattas in their contest with the Nizam—that the Nizam's expectations of British aid would not constitute a claim to it, unless well founded—and, that the alleged grounds of it, an unguarded expression of a Resident, and the disposition manifested by Lord Cornwallis, as indicated by his abortive efforts to render the conditions of the tripartite treaty more stringent, viz. by stipulations binding each of the contracting Powers to interpose its good offices in the event of differences arising between the other two, were wholly illusory.

Viewing the question in the light of expediency, Sir J. Shore expresses his apprehensions lest his support of the Nizam should expose the British Government to the combined hostility of the Mahrattas and Tippoo; whilst he anticipated no danger from the union of these Powers against the Nizam, inasmuch as, although it might accelerate the fall of that Prince, already sinking through misgovernment, it would be dissolved by the dissensions which doubtless would result from success:—that the wisest policy of the British Government would be, to deter aggression by consolidating and augmenting its military force;—and that the habitual consistency of its conduct would eventually re-establish its reputation, even though it might be temporarily and undeservedly impaired by leaving the Nizam to his fate.

After speculating on the various contingencies which might arise from the movements of the Native States, he maintains that treaties might be framed when required. And he finally submits to the arbitration of the Court of Directors the important question, suggested by a consideration of the embarrassment which the Statutary limitations might possibly occasion,—Whether the Indian Government might not be justified in defending, without any view to conquest, one State against another, even when not required to do so by treaty?—and, Whether, in order to facilitate that prompt and effectual chastisement of aggression in which its best security consisted, it might not be released from the prohibition against entering into a treaty till *after* the commencement of hostilities—an enactment calculated to tie its hands on an unforeseen emergency?

"TO MARQUIS CORNWALLIS.

"MY LORD— "March 8, 1795.

. . . .

"Hostilities between the Nizam and the Mahrattas now appear inevitable; and I have entered into a long discussion of the probable consequences of the event; and of a question which may eventually arise, Whether we are by treaty bound to defend the Nizam, if Tippoo should attack him whilst engaged in hostilities with the Mahrattas, either as their ally or independently of him?—My opinion is in the negative: but as I am certain you will, in the first instance, be inclined to support the Nizam, I must refer you to my Minute at full, for an explanation of the reasons which have influenced my decision. It is highly proper that a decision be passed upon them at Home;—not because I think the question will come before us at present, but as possible to arise hereafter.

"There is an argument which I have not stated —our means for carrying on a war with Tippoo and the Mahrattas; in which I include the abilities of him who must conduct the war, as well as our resources in men and money. Sir Robert Abercrombie is a man of most irreproachable honour and integrity, anxious for the public good, and zealous to promote it. As a man, I really esteem him: but then a question arises, involving the safety of India. I am bound by duty to consider no qualifications but those which are indispensably wanted at the time. You know, better than I do, whether he possesses them.

. . . .

"I have the honour to be," &c. &c.

The transition from the important transactions just considered, to topics suggested by a Public-School Education, is somewhat abrupt: but as the question is important, the writer's strictures on the subject must not be omitted. It appears, from the following Letter, that his agreeable recollections of Harrow had been in some degree overruled by maturer reflection. Yet it must be in fairness stated, in proof of the subsequent modification of the opinions he now expressed, that a residence at Harrow, nearly twenty years after, so far rekindled the flame of his youthful attachment to a Seminary from which he himself, notwithstanding the acknowledged defects of its system of instruction, had derived so much profit, that he placed two of his sons there.

"TO H. J. CHANDLER, ESQ.

"MY DEAR CHANDLER— "March 8, 1795.

. . . .

"There is something so intolerably blackguard in punishing a youth with flagellation, that I am not surprised that a boy of sixteen should refuse to submit to it. Our system of Education in the Public Schools I also think very bad; and I should be lothe to send a son there, whilst I had the means of private tuition. You will, of course, conclude that I concur in the propriety of your determination respecting your own boy. But what do you propose for him ultimately? Not, I trust, to suffer him to live in idleness, as your heir and successor. Our minds—and, above all, young minds—must have some occupation, or they become inert or vicious. A parent, in my opinion, better provides for the happiness of his children by binding them to some mechanical profession, than by suffering them to drawl on in indolence.

"I shall now write to you about myself.—I am as happy as ever I expect to be in this world. My conscience is easy, my health is good; and I have the society of a wife whom I love, and by whom I am loved. My fortune is increasing . . . . . .

"Under these circumstances, I must be a most discontented dog not to be content; considering, also, that I have here a society which I like, and friends in abundance whom I esteem. In truth, I am happy: for the little irritabilities arising from an anxiety for the success of my Administration, or for my reputation, are too trifling to have weight against the general tenour of my feelings. My colleagues are honest men, of sound principles; and I enjoy their confidence and support. Peter Speke is the same man you ever knew him;—and this answers your question as to his fortune. The dog riots in benevolence; forgetting that justice should precede generosity; and the old proverb, that 'Charity begins at home.'

"Last year I had a bitter time of it—struggling from one disorder to another, without ever recovering from any. The absence of my wife imposed a load upon my spirits which I was not sensible of, but which never ceased to be felt. Dull, gloomy, solitary evenings—nothing roused me; and nothing but the details of my public duty interested me. Sleepless nights, with scarcely an exception;—and, in short, if my wife had not come out, I should have returned home, or *dwalled* into idiotism. The scene is changed: and I beg you to observe, Mr. Negative Positive, that I thank God for the blessings which He has given me, and pray for a grateful heart for them. You will not suspect me of hypocrisy, when I assure you that Religion is with me not merely a feeling, but the result of reflection; and that I sincerely hope, that as I advance in years I may improve in piety; for I can truly say that it has afforded me, not only consolation, but cheerfulness and serenity. You have long had my affection: you have now my heart open to you: and professing to love you, I cannot but wish you to possess every source of enjoyment which I have.—Nothing but fatigue would make me conclude so soon, with the old but true assurance that

"I am," &c. &c.

In a Letter to another friend, Sir J. Shore writes to the same effect on the Public-School Education:—

"You have done wisely in taking your boys from Eton; where they may learn Latin and Greek, and, without more prudence than can be expected in young minds, will certainly learn dissipation and extravagance."

It is not improbable that his own judgment had been confirmed by the unfavourable impression which the mind of Sir W. Jones had received, and perhaps imparted to his future Biographer, from the ill-treatment he had experienced at Harrow; the circumstances of which are detailed in the "Memoir of his Life," suggesting to its author reflections in unison with those already cited:—

"It is a material and perhaps unavoidable defect in the system of education at Public Schools, that the necessity of regulating instruction by general rules must often preclude that attention to the tempers and capacities of individuals by which their attainments might be promoted."

"TO JOHN BLACKBURN, ESQ.

"MY DEAR SIR— "Bengal, May 12, 1795.

. . . .

"The prospect of affairs in Europe is by no means flattering; and I much doubt if the change of men in France, and the renunciation of the diabolical principles of Robespierre's gang, will occasion any favourable alteration to us. It is, I think, proved, that the accumulated power of the nations at war with the French cannot subdue them; and the danger is, that the Allies will be disunited, and England perhaps left to bear the effects of French revenge. There was a time when my country stood alone against all Europe; and the British energy of character is never so displayed as amidst dangers and distress. If the French should persist in hostilities against England, they will, I trust, find, that though we may be unequal to the conquest of France, we can defend ourselves.

"In India, all is prosperous. Our trade, our finances, our politics, all go on well. The population and cultivation of the country improve: and if it please Providence to grant me health, and to withhold its more awful visitations, I have a confidence that I shall leave this country in a state of prosperity equal to that in which it devolved upon me.

"Your affectionate humble Servant."

"By the prosperity of the country," observes Sir J. Shore, in a Letter to Mr. Inglis, "I do not mean the realisation of the Public Revenues—which may, however, be taken as a proof of it; but the happiness of the people at large, as resulting from the security which they possess under our Government, and from which we see an increase of population and industry. From Suez to the borders of China there is not a nation happier than those which enjoy the protection of the Company.

"In England, you are too apt to consider the British Authority in India as a mere Dependency, and not as a Sovereignty—which, in fact, it is. You consider the obligations of our situation only, and not the relations which the other has. But if we are subordinate to the Government of England, and to the Constituted Authorities under which we are immediately to act, we must never for a moment lose sight of the relation in which we are placed here; nor forget our duties as Sovereigns over the British Possessions in India, from the sense of our subordination to our Superiors in England.

. . . .

"When you were in Bengal, the business was transacted between the hours of nine and two. At present, the interval of occupation, in almost every department, is between seven and four; and I doubt if there is more regularity in any Government in the world: and I will venture to say there is as little peculation, or sinister emoluments. In this respect, the reform is not only considerable, but visible. Our present system is an effectual war to those intrigues which affected the Commerce, the Revenues, and every branch of the Public Administration. A dishonest Government, however, in one year might undo the labours of the last eight years."

. . . .

In another Letter, Sir J. Shore thus expresses his sense of the weighty responsibility attached to his station:—

"When I consider myself the Ruler of twenty-five millions of people—the controller of events which involve the interests of my own Nation as of the Subjects of this Government—I tremble at the greatness of the charge. I want, and hope I ever shall want, the callous insensibility of those politicians, who can distinguish between public and private happiness, and care not who are miserable, if their plan succeeds. I consider every native of India, whatever his situation may be, as having a claim upon me; and that I have not a right to dedicate an hour to amusement further than as it is conducive to health, and so far to the despatch of business. I look forward to the time when I must render an account of my commissions, as well as omissions.

. . . .

"TO THE RIGHT HON. HENRY DUNDAS.

"DEAR SIR— "May 12, 1795.

"My last address was dated the 7th of March. The war between the Mahrattas and the Nizam is now terminated to the irretrievable disgrace of the latter. The army, in numbers and discipline, was equal to that of the Peshwah; and if he had consigned the disposition of it to Monsieur Raymond, I doubt not that he would have proved victorious, and moderation might have insured an honourable accommodation. The action was a mere skirmish; and although the troops on both sides amounted to 150,000 men, not 200 perished. In a protracted war, the Mahrattas must have succeeded. I have already anticipated, in a Minute of the 18th January, many reflections suggested by this unfortunate event; which has not only added to the positive strength of the Mahrattas by an accession of territory and reputation, but has, I fear, placed the Nizam absolutely under their controul. To foresee and calculate the consequences of the present situation of Affairs my attention is continually directed. The Nizam has dismissed our battalions*. They were employed in a disgraceful and delicate service; and I should have seen their removal with satisfaction, if I had not been obliged to attribute it to the influence of the Mahrattas.

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* These battalions, which it might be supposed were available to the Nizam for the protection of his territories from foreign invasion, were precluded—as it is stated by Lord Cornwallis, in his Letter (in 1789) to the Nizam—from being employed against the Peshwa, Sindiah (or his successor) the Berar Rajah or Tippoo, or the Mahrattas of any tribe: and the Nizam made use of them as a sort of police, to enforce, in support of his oppressive misgovernment, the payment of his revenues from his refractory Zemindars and Polygars. Sir J. Shore had directed the President at Hydrabad to impress on the Nizam his sentiments on the disgraceful nature of the duty allotted to them; and to which he was bound, by the terms of the original engagement, to submit, if the Nizam persisted. (Correspondence.)

"The disorders in Oude are so serious, that I fear the necessity of repairing there myself, to restore them if possible. The dominions of Asoph ud-Doulah are in the precise situation to tempt an invasion. Disaffection and anarchy prevail throughout; and nothing but the presence of our two brigades prevents insurrection. The Nabob is in a state of bankruptcy, without a sense of his danger, and without a wish to guard against it. The indolence and dissipation of his character are too confirmed to allow the expectation of any reformation on his part; and this consideration, with which a regard for my own reputation is connected, makes me hesitate; as I certainly could not find time to do more than arrange a plan of reform, the execution of which must be left to others. But my determination will ultimately be guided by a sense of duty in this respect, as in all others; with no regard for personal consequences, further than as they are important to the prosperity of the Company's Affairs.

. . . .

"I have the honour to be," &c.

In the preceding Letter, Sir J. Shore alludes to a topic which long occupied the attention of the Government, both in India and at Home — the practice, adopted by some of the Native Powers, of assigning the command of a part of their forces to French officers. M. Raymond was thus employed by the Nizam; and afterwards availed himself of the opportunities within his reach of intriguing with Tippoo. Duboigne and his officers, who were in Sindiah's service, were happily more favourably inclined to the British than to the French cause, and were indeed balanced by an equivalent of British[*].

A Letter from Sir J. Shore to Lord Hobart (June 3) contains the following reflection on this subject:—

. . . .

"Enclosed you will receive the copy of a Private Letter from Captain Kirkpatrick to me, on a subject of much importance. The encouragement given by the Native Powers to Europeans threatens much future danger to the interests of this nation, in India. It is true that the Native Sirdars look upon them with a jealous eye; that their situation is hazardous; and that they cannot establish discipline amongst the troops under their command, in the perfection which ours have attained: but under all these disqualifications, considering the numerical disparity of our troops with the armies which the Princes of India can assemble, I consider the innovation in the politics of Hindostan as an evil of the first magnitude. Our dominion in India has been established, and is maintained, by the natives themselves. I hope it will not be overturned by Europeans. An ambitious man of great abilities, entrusted with the power of the Mahratta States, might do a great deal towards it."

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[*] Correspondence, and Marquis Wellesley's Despatches.

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Shortly afterwards, Raymond's force having occupied a suspicious position on the British frontier, the Governor-General compelled the Nizam to withdraw it: and he endeavoured "to direct the machine which he could not stop," by encouraging the Nizam to substitute British for French officers, in the disciplining and commanding his army. But this plan only partially succeeded; and was ultimately abandoned.

A Letter, though its interest is merely local, may be introduced, as proving that Sir J. Shore never suffered the suggestions of private friendship to restrain him in the discharge of public duty.

"July 28, 1795.

"DEAR ——,

"The complaints which are made to us, from all quarters, of the inefficient controul over the Police of Moorshedabad obliges me reluctantly to write to you on the subject. A formal representation has lately been preferred: and the explanations given, in consequence of an inquiry by the Subscribers, if true, exhibit such a scene of insecurity and disorder, as is highly disgraceful to the Government—That the shops and houses are shut up at dark; that the people are obliged to assemble in bodies, for their mutual protection in going to their houses; and that incessant alarms prevail—in short, that every family lives in trepidation, and that murders and robberies are perpetual.

"This representation is by no means a Toofani complaint; and one of the parties expressly declared that the known friendship between the Governor-General and Magistrate prevented a variety of complaints, and his speaking out.—The people do not accuse you of doing wrong, but of want of vigour and exertion. They compare the state of Patna and Dacca with that of Moorshedabad:—in the former places, they live secure; in the latter, without a moment's ease. I know your heart, and the goodness of your disposition—qualities which may be the very causes of the prevailing disorders. But how can a Governor resist or neglect the representations of his subjects? Can he, from any consideration, sit quietly down, and hear of enormities so serious and disgraceful? With the best intentions in the world—and I know you to be incapable of bad intentions—if the facts be as I state, and which are echoed from all quarters, Black and White, what conclusion can be drawn, but that there is a want of efficacy somewhere?—You have the same means, and the same establishment, as at Dacca and Patna.—It is impossible for me, at this distance, to prescribe what should be done. The protection of the cities can only depend upon the energy, activity, and ability of the Magistrate; and when that protection is not given, the public voice will and does decide, that energy, activity, and ability are wanting.

"It is unpleasant to me to write in disagreeable terms to any one, still more so to one for whom I have a regard; but I should shew a want of regard, if I did not write to you upon a subject which my public duty will compel me to attend to, and to decide between my private attachment and the public voice. I assure you, with truth, that I have not listened to it with that attention which has been expected from me, from a confidence in your integrity and goodness of heart. I have still the same confidence; but I cannot oppose it to the repeated complaints of individuals. Such reports are a disgrace to the Government.

"I am yours very sincerely."

"LETTER TO W. BENSLEY, ESQ.

"Bengal, August 26, 1795.

. . . .

"I have every reason to expect a favourable issue of my embassy to Ava. By the last accounts, Captain Symes was within three leagues of the Court, which he expected to reach about the 3d of July. The great objects of it were, to open and establish a free communication with the King; to remove the distrust which has so long subsisted between his Government and ours; to impose confidence, and obtain information, with a view to cement a friendship between him and the Company, as the basis of future political and commercial advantages. His dominions, since the conquest of Arracan, unite with those of the Company; and it was highly expedient to know something of a monarch whose troops had entered our provinces. The journey from Rangoon, the sea-port of Pegu, to Ava, is about a month; and, judging of the distance by what we see in Bengal, I should suppose it about 400 miles. The Deputation will enable Major Rennel to improve the Geography of that country, which I understand to be very erroneous. My merchant is also arrived at Nepaul. I have, with great perseverance, succeeded, I believe, in removing the jealousy of that Court; and I hope the attempt to open a new trade will not fail."

. . . .

The above-mentioned successful mission to Ava originated with Sir John Shore, and forms the subject of Colonel Symes's interesting Narrative. There is an account in "Dalrymple's Repertory" of a similar embassy from Madras, exactly a century previous.

"TO J. STEVENS, ESQ.,
SUPERVISOR IN MALABAR.

"DEAR SIR— "September 8, 1795.

. . . .

"I am fully sensible of the importance of the trust vested in you, and the difficulty attending a due execution of it. Moderation, firmness, and perseverance, must in time produce order; but it is not to be expected that a country can at once pass from anarchy to system. I can easily observe that much remains to be done; that the Rajahs retain their old propensities, and yield to every point of accommodation with reluctance; and the Culliote Rajah will in particular, I fear, never behave with proper subordination until he has felt the weight of authority. But I have every reason to be satisfied with your success hitherto; and doubt not that your administration will add to your credit, and to the advantage of the Company.

"In this view, how much soever I regret the loss of Mr. Duncan on this side of India, I cannot but feel the greatest satisfaction that you will be under the controul of a gentleman so minutely acquainted with Malabar.

. . . .

"To suppose any attachment on the part of the Natives of this country to our Government is more than I should perhaps be warranted to do, even in Bengal, where they have for some years had experience of the lenity and justice of the British Administration. They are not disaffected to us, and contented. In Malabar, they cannot yet have felt the benefits of our Rule; but I wish to learn from you the general disposition, both of the Rajah and Natives, towards our Government; and whether, if Tippoo, or an European enemy, were to attack the province, we should have most reason to expect assistance or opposition from our subjects there.

"As the President of the Society for Asiatic Researches, I have lately received some applications for an account of the Jews settled at Cochin; and for transcripts of any old Hebrew MSS. which they may possess, particularly of the Bible and Pentateuch. You will gratify me much by procuring for me the best account you can of the first establishment of the Jews in Malabar; of their present situation; and copies of any Hebrew MSS., at any expense.

"I should write to you more fully on the subject of the affairs in Malabar if Mr. Duncan's appointment had not in a great measure superseded the necessity of it.

"I am," &c. &c.

"TO CHARLES GRANT, ESQ.

"DEAR SIR— "Bengal, Oct. 20, 1795.

. . . .

"I mentioned, in my Letter to Mr. Dundas, that Lord Hobart and myself had lately had some little controversy. I am not anxious to support my opinions farther than they merit; but if you read the papers on the subject, you will, I think, find that his Lordship takes a liberty of discussing my opinions with a latitude exceeding the bounds of decorum; that his terms are offensive and arrogant; and that he chuses to call the exercise of the controlling power of this Government over his

Administration, a want of confidence in his measures; or, in other words, he will be despotic in his own Government, and wants even to controul me. I send you, enclosed, a specimen of our Correspondence. The great and original point of difference was the nomination of . . . . to a seat at the Military Board, involving an irregular promotion in consequence. For this measure no satisfactory reason has, in my opinion, been assigned.

"In the affairs of Europe, I see nothing to give satisfaction; and doubt if peace will bring quiet with it. But how is peace to be made? The crisis is indeed awful, and the dispensations of Providence ought to alarm the most thoughtless. The nation, however, as far as I can judge, will have peace. To determine between the opposite opinions of such men as Mr. Pitt and Mr. Wilberforce is not easy. I suppose them both to have the public good in view, and to differ only in the mode of obtaining it. I wait with anxiety to know the effect of Mr. Wilberforce's promised Motion in May; and, without pretending to the inspiration of Brothers or Halhed, I think it will be negatived by a small majority, but, without some great intervening success, that petitions for a peace will flow from all nations.

Brothers is a blasphemous maniac, and may be the tool of a faction: but what shall I say of Halhed, who has lived his whole life as if he thought there was no God? He sent to me a copy of Brothers's Pamphlet, with a Letter, saying, that he made no apology for sending me the enclosed; that if his prophecies were fulfilled as they had been, Europe would be no place for me; that he had done much good to him, &c. I thought him at first laughing at me; but his two Speeches in the House convinced me he was, *quoad hoc*, mad.—I should have supposed Halhed the first person in the world to ridicule Brothers. He is now so far advanced in insanity, that a lucid interval would shew his folly in a glaring light; and reflection, I fear, would replunge him in madness*.

"Lady Shore continues well; and Charlotte has a fund of spirits not to be tamed. Her mother is her schoolmistress, and Miss improves much. I may say, with great truth, that she knows more of her Bible than nine-tenths of the people in Calcutta. Mr. Brown's appointment of Chaplain to the Presidency has had most beneficial effects. The Congregation — of which, during the hot weather, I can rarely be one—are more numerous than ever I recollect. As Mr. Brown is known, the general respect and esteem for him increases.

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* Mr. Halhed became a Member of the House of Commons; and, having summoned up resolution to make a speech, he rushed out of the house after concluding it, exclaiming, "Liberavi animam meam!"

"I have finished this Letter at an early date, that I may not be disappointed in writing to you. I beg my respects to your family, Mr. Wilberforce, and Mr. Thornton; and am

"My dear Sir,
"Your obliged and affectionate," &c. &c.

"TO WILLIAM WILBERFORCE, ESQ.

"MY DEAR SIR— "Bengal, Oct. 25, 1795.

"That the urgency of official duties and correspondence at the moment of despatching a packet to Europe may not divert my attention from my obligations to you, I embrace an early opportunity of thanking you for your very obliging Letter of the 4th of April.

"Of the public business of this country, if you are further interested in it than to know that it goes on quietly and prosperously, Mr. Grant will give you all information. I have now held the Government nearly two years, without losing my surprise at finding myself in possession of it; and I flatter myself that I have not deviated from those principles which I brought with me into it; for that indeed would lead to a consequence more serious to me than the deprivation of my station—

the forfeiture of your good opinion. Yet I will freely confess to you, that a rigid adherence to the principles of moral honesty, taking them in their true but extended sense, is very difficult for a Governor-General; and that they are exposed to relaxation by appeals to humanity and friendship, and occasionally from the expediency of accommodation. It has ever been a fixed maxim with me, that *honesty*, in all transactions, is the best policy; or, in other words, that nothing morally wrong can be politically right or advantageous—*e.g.* the Slave Trade.

"Of my abilities I am not, I assure you, vain; and your sentiments on the subject give confidence to me. With common sense, and a determination to do right, I cannot commit great errors, or lose the inclination to correct those which I do commit. He was a wise as well as good man who first said, that 'to acknowledge an error is to prove ourselves wiser.' With unremitting assiduity, as far as my health permits, I cannot leave much neglected. But the political connections of the Company extend from Ava to Muscat. The business of this Government is so multifarious; it combines objects so various and so minute, and prescribes forms which occupy so much time; general principles and detail are so blended; and the whole depends so much upon the Governor-General, that he ought to have a mind incapable of relaxation from the climate—insensible to nervous impressions—and a body to resist the impression of disease or debility. I can, however, conscientiously declare my firm conviction, that there exists not a Government in the world administered with more zeal and honesty, and less peculation, from the head to the extremes.

"Indians, I remark, seldom make any figure in Parliament. If ever I return (for I always speak with diffidence of futurity), I shall apply to myself *Nosce teipsum*, and never attempt to mix in the goodly society of which you are a member. A man may make a tolerably-good Governor-General, and an inefficient Member of Parliament. Our habits are deliberative, not oratorical: and although I might vote with common-sense and conscience, I could never speak with grace. In truth, unless I am irritated, I doubt if I could make a speech of a quarter of an hour, on any subject, before ten people. — I write, as you will perceive, *currente calamo*.

"When I reflect upon the conduct of my earlier years in India, and the little attention then paid by me to subjects of Eternal concern, I feel sensations of regret and gratitude which I cannot express. My principles, I trust, were never vitiated; and, in the chastisements which I have suffered, I see the benevolent interposition of an Almighty God, to recall me from sinful indulgences. To learn His will, and to practise it, for some years has been my study; and I am obliged equally to lament my former negligences and the importunities of my public station, which leave me too little time for meditation, and embarrass the moments which I devote to it. The confession is conviction: for what ought to precede our duty to our Creator? In my weakness, I must hope for excuse; in His mercy, for pardon; in His grace, for support and assistance. A Persian author says, that 'the best adoration which man in this world can pay to his Creator, is, to administer well the affairs of his creatures.' The sentiment is excellent, with some modification.

"I have no hesitation on any occasion, and on some find it a duty, to declare myself a disciple of Christ; in whose Gospel, and in the Bible, I look for my Religion; and in that, for tranquillity, confidence, and happiness. Thence I learn to subdue pride, and to cultivate benevolence. That teaches me a religious indifference; not a democratic contempt for honours and titles. My sentiments, on some points, may differ from yours; but I think too humbly of myself to be arrogant in my opinion. My prayer to God is, to know His will, and to follow it: and, if I know myself, I have a charity which can scarcely be brought to injure even an offensive animal; still less, knowingly, a human being. I shall make no apology for sentiments which your Letter encourages and invites. Indeed, my dear Sir, it is a pleasure to me to have a correspondent to whom I can lay open my heart; and the act itself is an obligation to practise the principles which I profess.

"The climate of Bengal (ridiculous as the assertion may seem) is not favourable to Religion. It produces a languor, after a long residence in India, which renders the faculties of the soul inert;—and I have always observed that Indifference is a worse foe to Religion than Sin. Reflection may correct the latter, but has no influence over torpid feelings. Here, Calamity (which, in truth, is the blessing of life) awakens and alarms; and without it, the few, though they might not be vicious, would become indifferent.

"I am sorry also to add, that our Clergy in Bengal, with some exceptions, are not very respectable characters. Their situation indeed is arduous, considering the general relaxation of morals; and from which a black coat is no security. Mr. Brown, whose name you must often have heard from Mr. Grant, is an exception. His piety is sound; his conduct exemplary and assiduous; and his ministry and example have done important good to the society here.

"My health has been improved, beyond all expectation, by the society of my family. I have all the happiness I can expect. This, you know, is a dangerous situation; and I am sensible of it. I have only to pray that my gratitude may be proportionable to the mercies which I have undeservedly received, or that chastisement may recall me from lapse.

"I beg my respects to Mr. Thornton; and am, my dear Sir, with the greatest esteem,

"Your sincere friend," &c. &c.

Various important subjects now occupied the anxious attention of the Government:—defensive measures against Tippoo on one side, and against Zemaun Shah of Lahore on the other; war with the Dutch and the French; the misgovernment of Oude; vexatious controversies with the Madras Presidency; and, above all, the alarming insubordination of a portion of the army.

"TO DAVID SCOTT, ESQ.

"MY DEAR SIR— "Bengal, Nov. 4, 1795.

. . . .

"I have given constant attention to the state of our army here. If you were to judge of its temper from the conversation of individuals, you would conclude that the officers were in an actual state of mutiny. But I believe the good sense of the majority to be prevalent; and, after all, disaffection must be attended with such serious consequence, that none but the most desperate would ever think of it. Of this, therefore, I have no apprehensions. His Lordship's* Regulations were received with great dissatisfaction. My ideas on the subject of the arrangement have been communicated to none here, excepting those whom I confidently employ. But the situation of the army is, on every ground, most serious. The Sepoys have been unjustly treated; so much so, that nine in ten, I am convinced, would act against their own officers. Our Europeans are deficient, beyond all prudence; and the officers rather attentive to their own concerns than to the discipline of their corps. I send you enclosed a General and Garrison Order, respectively issued by the Commander-in-Chief and myself. That Committees had assembled, we all knew; and, in truth, some advantage was derived from the Presidency Committee, as their moderation was a check upon the more violent proceedings at the distant stations: but there is a wide difference between the assumption of authority and the sufferance of it; and when an Advertisement appeared in the Gazette, in the name of Captain ——, by order of the 'Presidency Committee of Officers,' I thought it time to interfere. The fact however was, that the Advertisement was originally inserted by mistake.

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* Lord Cornwallis.—One part of this nobleman's plan was, to transfer the Company's army to the King's Service.

. . . .

"I am, My dear Sir,
"Your obliged and obedient humble servant."

Towards the close of 1795, the military discontents reached their crisis, and Government received accurate information of the proceedings of the disaffected. At one station, in the Upper Provinces, the officers had determined upon treasonable measures, if not satisfied with the Regulations expected from England; contemplating the compulsory enlistment of the reluctant in their service; throwing off their allegiance to Government; and seizing both the Governor-General and the Commander-in-Chief. So great had been, at one time, the alarm excited by their desperate projects, that Sir John Murray, the Commandant at Fortwilliam, without communicating his precautionary proceeding to the Governor-General, placed that fortress in a state of defence, relying on the unshaken steadiness of the Artillery. The prevention of very serious mischief was due, partly to the exemplary conduct of that branch of the army; partly to the fidelity and resolution displayed by some officers at the most-disturbed station; and partly to the firmness and conciliatory bearing of Sir Robert Abercrombie, who had hastened, at the Governor-General's request, to the principal scenes of violence; whilst Sir John Shore, having ascertained that many officers had involuntarily joined, and had subsequently seceded from the seditious confederacy, perceived a favourable opportunity for dissolving it; and was only anxious, whilst accomplishing this object, to avoid the fearful consequences of collision.

But the subsiding fermentation was once more revived by the arrival of the long-deferred Regulations; which proved, unfortunately, as Sir John Shore observes, a mass of confusion; neither calculated to gratify the officers, nor to improve the discipline or effective strength of the army. The Governor-General had now no alternative, but to direct the Commander-in-Chief to make preparations for carrying the arrangement into effect by force; and, at the same time, to concert with him such modifications as might satisfy the expectations of the army, so far as they were just and reasonable.

The promulgation of the Regulations, thus altered, happily restored discipline and good-humour. Nearly all the suggested modifications and amendments* were approved by the Court of Directors, and at length, in June 1798, incorporated into the original plan, which has been since commonly called 'the Company's Military Charter.'

Meanwhile, the harmonious co-operation of the Governments of Fortwilliam and of Madras was disturbed by increasing differences. Concurring in their views of general policy in regard to the Native States, and actuated by like zeal in the extirpation of corruption, the Governor-General and the Chief of the subordinate Presidency perpetually disagreed as to the means of attaining their common objects. Lord Hobart, though endowed with a quick, penetrating, and vigorous intellect, wanted the experience and the patience essential to the successful conduct of the irritating and perplexing transactions, in which his Administration was involved. His temper resented the interposition of the Governor-General; whilst the limits defining the respective jurisdictions of the Supreme and subordinate Governments were either not so accurately marked out as to preclude dispute, or, when this condition was not wanting, opposed but an inadequate obstacle to Lord Hobart's impetuous zeal. On one occasion, during the war with the Dutch, he transgressed the bounds of his authority prescribed by the Legislature, by forming a treaty with the King of Candia without reference to the Supreme Government; which, on this, as well as on other grounds, Sir J. Shore annulled.

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* These consisted, chiefly, in the suspension of regimental rise; an increase of the allowances to the senior officers of the army serving in India, but not on the general staff; an addition to the staff of native regiments of cavalry and infantry, both as regarded the military and medical branches of its service; an increase of furlough-pay to the superior medical officers; grants of passage-money to subaltern officers obliged by ill-health to visit England; and an addition to the pension of non-commissioned European officers, after certain periods of service.

The principal topics of contention were supplied by the embarrassing affairs of the Carnatic and of Tanjore. On the demise of the Nabob of the Carnatic (Oct. 13, 1795), the Governor-General authorised Lord Hobart to submit to his successor a proposition, already made to the late Nabob by Lord Cornwallis, for the assignment of the entire revenues of his kingdom to the Company, grounded on the inconvenience and evils resulting from the separation of the collection of the revenues from a responsibility for the defence of the State. Lord Hobart, however, apprehending the influence of European usurers on the Nabob's resolution, sought at once, without awaiting the Governor-General's instructions, to obtain the Nabob's consent, not to the large measure to which they pointed, but merely to the surrender of a district which had been mortgaged by treaty to the British Government. He endeavoured to overcome the Nabob's reluctance to his proposal, by peremptorily addressing him in terms at once offensive to his deceased father and menacing to himself; by pressing upon him unseasonably the immediate payment of a debt due to the Company, and other claims real or disputable; and, whilst expressing his readiness to forego these pretensions, by threatening compulsory measures, which he conceived fully justified by the Nabob's probable inability to fulfil his engagements to the Company, in consequence of the neglect or waste of the assigned territory. The negociation was concluded unsuccessfully, in the short space of eight days.

Sir J. Shore acquiesced in Lord Hobart's proposition, though it fell far short of his own, and strove to induce the Nabob's assent to it; whilst he condemned Lord Hobart's conduct in this transaction; doing justice, at the same time, to the honourable motives and laudable zeal which prompted it. He deemed it calculated rather to incense than to conciliate the Nabob; as repugnant to the Treaty of 1792, by which the Nabob's rights were guaranteed—as, in respect to some of the demands pressed on the Nabob, unjustifiable—and as, in fact, involving a breach of faith. And though he expressed doubts whether the negociation could have been possibly so managed as to secure the Nabob's consent, he maintained that the magnitude of an advantage could not warrant the prosecution of it by improper means. Lord Hobart warmly vindicated the course he had pursued, on the grounds already intimated; and sought further justification of it by an appeal to the Court of Directors.

The proceedings of the Madras Government, in regard to Tanjore, formed in some degree a counterpart to these just narrated. The British Government had originally sanctioned the succession of the reigning sovereign, Ameer Sing, to the throne of that kingdom, to the exclusion of Serfojee, the adopted son of the late Nabob; but had been subsequently induced to revise its decision, by various considerations; amongst which was the discovery, that the opinion of the Pundits, on which it had been founded, had been influenced by corrupt motives. Meanwhile, Ameer Sing's infamous Minister, Shevarow, in his master's name, grievously oppressed his country: and Lord Hobart, perceiving the fruitlessness of previous efforts to correct the abuses of the Nabob's Administration, and entertaining apprehensions—similar to those which had influenced his conduct in reference to the Carnatic—of the ruin of the territory mortgaged to the Company in liquidation of his debt, urged that Prince, with better success than had attended his negociations in the Carnatic, to cede the assigned district to the Company.

The Governor-General was not tempted by the value of the prize to overlook the means by which it had been secured. He observed, that the Rajah had been intimidated into compliance by the repeated calling out of British troops, even after he had consented to the dismissal of his Minister—that the employment of Mr. Swartz, the avowed protector of the Rajah's competitor and public impeacher of his title, as Interpreter in the transaction, had been injudicious—that the punctuality of the Rajah's payments had precluded all pretext for taking possession of his territory—that if mal-administration of mortgaged districts could justify the forfeiture of them, the British Government might lay claim equally to Oude and to Travancore; and he concluded by declaring, that justice and policy alike prescribed the rescinsion of the treaty, and the restoration of the ceded district to the Nabob, whatever embarrassments might result from the proceeding. Lord Hobart urged, in addition to the reasons for his conduct already alleged, that the Rajah's dismissal of his Minister had been pretended.

In the course of the discussion with the Madras

Government, Sir J. Shore had animadverted, as it has been seen, on the employment of Mr. Swartz. He did not neglect the opportunity, afforded him by the topics on which he touched in his long and elaborate Minute on the subject of the Tanjore Succession—the reversal of which, urged by himself, was ultimately determined upon — to record the following eulogium on the character of the eminent Missionary:—

"Admitting that the authors of the Rajah of Tanjore's correspondence are interested on the one side, and the Resident and Mr. Swartz are committed on the other, it may be a matter of consideration to which of the parties credit ought to be given. The President has no hesitation in declaring, that, upon every material point, he totally disbelieves every circumstance that has been urged in the Rajah's Letters; which goes to a contradiction of the representations of the Resident.

"With regard to Mr. Swartz, whose name the President has never heard mentioned without respect, and who is as distinguished for the sanctity of his manners as for his ardent zeal in the promulgation of his Religion; whose years, without impairing his understanding, have added weight to his character; and whose situation has enabled him to be the protector of the oppressed, and the comforter of the afflicted; who, a preacher of the Christian Faith, and a man without influence except from character, was held in such estimation by the late Rajah, a Hindoo Prince approaching to his dissolution, that he thought him the fittest person he could consult concerning the management of his country, during the minority of his adopted son, Serfojee; and who, displaying more integrity than foresight in the advice he gave, did certainly not prove himself the enemy of Ameer Sing, since, at his suggestion, he was named Regent. To the solemn assurance of such a man, the President is compelled to declare his unqualified assent; and, upon his information, he can easily reconcile the difference between the personal declarations and the Letters of the Rajah."

"TO THE RIGHT HON. HENRY DUNDAS.

"DEAR SIR— "January 12, 1796.

. . . .

"The controversies between this and the Madras Government will be as little satisfactory to you as they are unpleasing to me. I have neither time nor disposition for them;·and as they must come officially before you, I shall not here trouble you with any further remarks upon them, than to disclaim the imputations which Lord Hobart has so liberally imputed to myself and my colleagues; and to assure you, that no intemperance on his part will either diminish my reliance upon his zeal, or provoke me to transgress the limits of decorum in my public correspondence with him. The Nabob of Arcot has made an Appeal to this Government in terms which will compel our notice; and this will furnish a new subject of disagreement. I regret that it is unavoidable. The conduct of his Lordship toward the Nabob, in my opinion, is most unjustifiable, violent, and indefensible upon every principle.

"The character of the Nabob, as represented to me by those who have studied it personally, is a compound of good-nature, vanity, weakness, and obstinacy. He is accessible by flattery; and although he wants exertion, he is not deficient in abilities, when compelled to the use of them, nor discernment. The conduct which I should have recommended to Lord Hobart, if he had asked my private opinion, and which was suggested in our public instructions, was, persuasion and conciliation. Attention from a man of His Lordship's rank and situation would have flattered his vanity; a liberal acknowledgment of rights established by treaty would have disarmed suspicion; and address might have conciliated or seduced his acquiescence, beyond the power of retractation. His Lordship might have reflected, that the weakest and most timid will resist compulsion, and that the language of intimidation should never be used without the power to enforce it. The event must have been precisely what was to be expected; and His Lordship has incurred the obloquy of a breach of public faith, without the satisfaction of succeeding in his object. There is one principle adopted by His Lordship, which has my decided disapprobation—that the Nabob is to be forced into an acquiescence by indirect means of coercion. Such a principle, if it were to become a motive of action, would soon suggest to the Country Powers, that convenience was the measure of our good faith.

"You will ask me why I do not communicate these sentiments privately to his Lordship. My answer is, that I am precluded by the intemperance of his language.

"I know the wishes of the Company in this business, and I feel all the importance of establishing their authority effectively in the Carnatic: but the inflexibility is now so aggravated, that I have no hopes of success with him; and I freely confess to you my embarrassment, in deciding between him and his Lordship.

. . . .

"I have the honour to be, Dear Sir," &c. &c.

The Governor of Bombay was now employed in carrying into effect measures of reform in that Presidency, similar to those which Lord Cornwallis had so successfully accomplished in Bengal.

"TO THE HONOURABLE J. DUNCAN,
GOVERNOR OF BOMBAY.

"DEAR DUNCAN— "Bengal, Feb. 13, 1796.

"My head and hands are so full, that nothing would have induced me to write to you at present but a desire to express the concern which we all sincerely feel at your indisposition. Indeed, My friend, your Letter of the 20th of January has given us much uneasiness; and I cannot but, on every account, both of private regard and public utility, most heartily wish the restoration of your health. Your situation must for a time be unpleasant, as you have a most arduous task to accomplish; but with health, I doubt not of your complete success. You have had too many difficulties to contend with; and have surmounted them with so much credit to yourself, that I am without any apprehensions as to your ultimate success in removing the accumulated filth of the Augean stable of Bombay. Of our co-operation you are certain; and you have already given proofs of a vigorous administration, which promises public benefit, and an increase of your reputation. I wrote to Sir Francis Baring, as you desired; and you may rest assured, that although he opposed your appointment on principle, he will, on the same principle, give you fair support. He is an honourable and a good-natured man; but not always disposed to co-operate with Mr. Dundas.

"Your affectionate," &c.

"TO CHARLES GRANT, ESQ.

"MY DEAR SIR— "March 9, 1796.

"I avail myself of a respite from business, occasioned by a cold, sore-throat, and head-ache, to reply to your two Letters of the 25th of June and 17th of August.

"The former has called forth reflections, which from habit I am disposed to indulge, of a very serious nature. With an increasing conviction of the truth of the Christian Religion, and of its importance to myself as well as to every human being, I feel myself plunged in a vortex of worldly occupation, which carries me with it with an impetuosity which I struggle in vain to resist. I am equally conscious of the obligation imposed upon me by the situation to which Providence has raised me, to promote and encourage its influence; but although I do not totally neglect it, and am willing to hope that my sentiments, conversation, and example, may have been of some service to the interests of Christianity—or, more correctly speaking, to individuals—I am equally conscious that my public endeavours have been by no means in proportion to my conviction of the truth and importance of Christianity. The fact is this, that the duties of my situation are too much, I fear, for my abilities: the business of this Government is augmented two-fold since my last residence in India, and it almost exclusively falls upon my shoulders. The occurrences since my accession have been of a very important nature; and the succession of them has scarcely allowed me a respite for repose. The last three months have been a period of great anxiety; and I sometimes doubt my judgment may not have proved erroneous on the decision which it has adopted. Often have I wished that Lord Cornwallis were at the head of the Administration here, and that I were his co-adjutor, as formerly: all would then have been easy to him and me. My colleagues give me their confidence and support, but little assistance; and my daily labours, Sundays excepted, when I never work unless compelled by absolute unavoidable emergency, commence with the day, and are continued until half-past three o'clock. The only intervals allowed me for reading and reflection are during the operations of my hair-dresser, or in the evening, previous to my sleep: in these intervals I have, however, contrived to read the New Testament through many times, many parts of the Bible frequently, Warburton's Divine Legation, Jortin's Ecclesiastical History, Jortin's Sermons over and over, Paley's Evidences, and many other books of a similar tenor. But the attention is too often dissipated and confused, and the occurrences of the day will intrude when they ought to be discarded. My health has been uncommonly good during the last year; but I have not that energy, vigour, or decision, which I formerly possessed. Deliberation occupies a much larger portion of time; and I hesitate when I should have decided without demur. From the difficulties which I find in this respect, I derive a consciousness of incompetency to determine questions of magnitude; and I have one before me, at this moment, which has engaged my thoughts for more than a month and a half. Languor will occasionally steal upon me, and impede exertion; and the climate has produced an irritability, which affects my nerves, and prevents the discussion of questions which interest the feelings. In short, I am almost tempted to regret that I did not retire this season;—but I could not do so with honour. The next, I think, unless the same impediments should exist, will terminate my labours in India.

. . . .

"Our Commander-in-Chief, as good a man as ever lived—speaking after the fashion of the world—is still at the upper station of the army; and I hope he will remain there until the Regulations arrive. The embers of discontent still remain; and a puff may rekindle the blaze. Years of incessant good management will be required to restore the army to its proper state; and I look with much apprehension to the consequences of the three last years. The whole will depend upon the firmness and abilities of the Commander-in-Chief; and if the preservation of India is important, the successors of General Abercrombie must be selected from proper, and not Parliamentary, principles. Indeed, My friend, this is a point of the utmost importance. I am not fitted for the scenes which have lately occurred—not from personal apprehension, but from the magnitude and importance of the occurrences. Severity to any individual, I think, would have disorganized the army, bound, with few exceptions, in an obligation of security and mutual support. This would have been most fatal; yet, with every wish to avoid the extreme as long as it could be done, I would have met it, if unavoidable. In England, you cannot be competent judges of the question; and I expect our moderation will be condemned there; but on the spot, a different conclusion suggests itself.

"I am too tired to write much more; and I shall conclude with subjects of a more familiar and domestic nature.—I think it is more than possible that we may be, under Providence, your neighbours at Clapham. Lady Shore's affection for Mrs. Grant, her obligations to you both, and my own predilection for a society than which I know no better, are inducements which will hardly submit to others;—but the decision is not in our power.

. . . .

"I conclude, My dear Sir,
"Your affectionate," &c.

The preceding Letter was written under disqualifying indisposition. Sir J. Shore's allusion to his private studies reflects light on the somewhat peculiar constitution of his mind. During the extreme pressure of public business he found it difficult to unbend his faculties. The ordinary recreation of light reading did not afford adequate employment to his distracted thoughts; and he sought the diversion he required only in books which exercised his reasoning powers. He devoted the short period in which his hair-dresser attended him to abridging works; and about this time composed an analysis of Reid's then just-published Essay. He sometimes indicated the engrossing influence of business, on entering his room when full of company; and could not at once disengage himself sufficiently to partake of the pleasures of conversation, and of the gaiety of society, in which he took great delight.

"TO ——— ———.

"SIR— "Bengal, March 6, 1796.

. . . .

"I have furnished Dr. Roxburgh, at his own request, with an extract from your Letter that relates to the mulberry- and sugar-cane. Of the latter, as cultivated to the eastward, he is uninformed; but he has promised to make every possible inquiry, and to procure, through the means of Dr. Campbell at Bencoolen, and Mr. Smith the Nursery-man, both information . . . . of the coast-canes. He is well apprised, and qualified to make comparisons between them and the Bengal sugar-canes. Smith the Nursery-man is now on his voyage to the eastward, for collecting spice-plants and other valuable articles. As we are not sure of retaining the Dutch Possessions, we shall at least endeavour to derive some profit from them; and by transplanting the cloves, nutmegs, and cinnamon to Bengal, we may lay the foundation of future advantage. I have seen very good cinnamon the produce of gardens about Calcutta; and there is no doubt but soils for the culture of this and every other article of tropical growth may be found in different parts of the Company's Possessions. I would much rather extend the Trade than the Territories of the Company. I hope, however, that Ceylon will never be relinquished: and if we had Cuttack, which is not likely, we might give up something of that we now have.

"The Embassy to Ava promises well; and to ensure the benefits of it, we must send a Resident to Rangoon." . . . . .

"TO C. GRANT, ESQ.

"MY DEAR SIR— "March 31, 1796.

. . . .

"The books in general brought out for sale to this country are of a style little calculated to improve the heart or understanding: yet I am satisfied that books of piety would not want readers. A few editions of 'Paley's Evidences of Christianity' were lately brought here, and immediately sold; and I wish more of them had been sent. A book of this nature is much wanted; and many would peruse it who would not read the works of Tillotson or Sherlock. If a selection of proper books could be made, for the investment of some of the officers, I am sure it would prove advantageous both to the individuals and the community here. Jortin's Sermons are very extensively read; and the books most wanted are those which are calculated to undo the mischiefs of indifference and free-thinking. Paley's work is exactly of this stamp; and some who have read it have expressed their surprise to find the proofs of Christianity so firmly established. When this belief is adopted, the transition to piety is not remote or difficult, and Jortin, Sherlock, and Tillotson will then be read with pleasure and attention; and, above all, the New Testament, on which all that can be said is but a commentary, without the strength, the sanction, the simplicity, and divine energy of the original. Some of the late editions of the New Testament would sell well here.

"The army is quiet. Sir Robert Abercrombie, whose zeal, integrity, and honour merit every applause, is on his return. He will certainly leave the country when I do, perhaps sooner. But although the ferment is allayed, the leaven which occasioned it still remains. — Pray, my good friend, who is answerable for the evils which were on the point of breaking forth?

"I beg my respects to Mr. Wilberforce and Mr. Thornton. You and yours have ever had my wishes and affections; and I am," &c. &c.

"TO MARQUIS CORNWALLIS.

"MY LORD— "Bengal, April 26, 1796.

"I will not take up your time, nor lose my own, with apologies for short Letters; being persuaded that you will make the just allowances for my public avocations and occasional interruptions from ill-health. Of the latter, indeed, I have little to complain before the last six months, during which I have suffered as much from indisposition as ever I did in my life.

"You will be surprised, mortified, and perhaps alarmed at the accounts which you will hear of the state of the army. Their proceedings exceeded all bounds of decency or moderation: but although they would have led to the most fatal consequences, if a timely interposition of authority had not prevented it, the majority of officers, I am fully convinced, neither foresaw the termination, nor would have risked it if they had foreseen it. That they had bound themselves by obligations of mutual support and secresy is clearly ascertained; and, under such obligations, the violent had every advantage over the moderate, and used it in a mode which occasioned resistance: in short, the temperate were, by threats, flattery, or indifference, compelled or agitated into activity or co-operation; and but for the firmness of the artillery at Calcutta, and the manly resistance of several officers at Khanpoor, the army would have dictated to the Government their own terms. You may be assured that I am happy in having recalled the officers to prudent reflection, without proceeding to extremities. I need not, with you, dwell upon the consequences of internal convulsion, or the political evil of discord and division. The state of the army has long been perilous, without supposing these effects. The minds of the officers are too much occupied by their own interests to attend to those of their own corps: the relaxation of discipline has led to a want of subordination amongst the native troops, truly alarming; and we should be unjustifiable in suffering such a situation of things, whilst we can prevent it: and this can only be done by an arrangement for the army here, if it should not arrive from England before the end of June. I sometimes doubt my ability to controul circumstances so foreign to my habits or modes of business: and whether I have pursued the most eligible plan of alleviating anarchy and confusion by temperance and moderation, or whether I should have adopted coercion, is a question upon which opinion will be various. I think the wisest mode has been followed; and that severity might have occasioned the absolute disorganization of the army, whose expectations have been too much trifled with. That the native troops would have supported the authority of the Government I am well convinced; but the alternative would have been dreadful. We were, however, at one time, prepared to meet it, if the extremity rendered the measure indispensable. I am much better pleased that it has been otherwise. With respect to myself, whatever anxiety I may have suffered from the apprehension of the most serious possible consequences, I have had no personal alarms; although my friend, Sir J. Murray, thought my person in great danger, and in this apprehension had nearly occasioned a very serious alarm. A long period of able management will be required to restore order, discipline, and subordination; and I look with much anxiety to the consequences of habits of association and remonstrance in the military.

"I shall now say a little to you on the subject of my successor. Upon his arrival in India, I made every advance towards confidential communication with him, and furnished him with all such information as I conceived might be useful or interesting. But the style of his correspondence soon precluded the continuance of unofficial communications, as his Lordship chose to address me in terms which I would not have used to any subordinate officer. I had neither leisure nor inclination for a correspondence of this nature. In our public opinions, we have had various differences; and nothing can be less reconcileable than Lord Hobart's principles and mine. He seems to me to pursue his objects without any regard to the rectitude of the means or ultimate consequences, to decide with precipitation, and to maintain his decision at all hazards. I do not distrust his zeal, but his judgment. That the territories of the Nabob of Arcot or Rajah of Tanjore may be mismanaged in the most ruinous manner, I doubt not; that he should be anxious to correct those evils which, from personal observation, may be more impressive, I can readily admit; but the existing treaties propose limits even to mismanagement;—and let it be as great as is asserted, which I do not deny, these people are not to be dragooned into concessions. It is painful to me to animadvert upon conduct which I cannot approve; but in adopting such principles, or in passing over such measures, I should sacrifice the real interests of my country; all reliance upon our good faith would be done away; and instead of friends, every Potentate in India would become our enemy. I wish your Lordship's attention to these subjects, as no one is better able than yourself to decide upon the opinions and conduct of Lord Hobart and myself. He has zeal, activity, and energy; but if they are misdirected, as I think they are, these qualities may be most pernicious; and our superiors should decide between us, in a mode that admits of no misconstruction.

"My present intention is, to return to England the ensuing season. At least, the late attack upon my health is such as hardly to render my continuance in office justifiable, under the apprehension of a more serious return. I have no object of ambition or accumulation to gratify; nor any other, than to improve that prosperity which you contributed so essentially to establish, and to promote that confidence in our good faith which your Lordship established with so much success.

"I have the honour to be, My Lord,
"Your Lordship's most sincere," &c. &c.

"P.S. Since writing the above, we have received the Regulations from England. The packet is this moment arrived."

"TO CHARLES GRANT, ESQ.

"MY DEAR SIR— "Bengal, June 22, 1796.

. . . .

"I now advert to the proceedings of the Madras Government relating to Tanjore; and more extraordinary proceedings never fell under my inspection. . . . . Nothing can, in my opinion, be clearer, than that the Rajah has been *dragooned* into the treaty, and that the misconduct of the Minister, Shevarow, was made a pretence for compelling the Rajah's signature:—yet not even scandal has insinuated any imputation of venality against either his Lordship or his Agent, in this business. But it appears to me, that he expected to gain great credit, if he could accomplish it; and *that* being accomplished, he concluded the means would not be scrutinised. It is a sufficient condemnation of such principles, to say that the arguments used in support of them are precisely such as the most iniquitous Government might use as a justification for the most iniquitous measures. I disavow all imputation of this nature on the Madras Government. They have erred from want of judgment—from not considering that an object just or advantageous in itself cannot be pursued by means that are unjust. There are many, I know, who think differently, and care not about the integrity of the means, provided the end be obtained. I have ever been of opinion, that honesty is, in all situations, the best policy; and upon this principle I will act, or resign my post to others of more accommodating principles. Those who are disposed to adopt contrary sentiments will be inclined to disapprove our condemnation of Lord Hobart's measures; thinking, perhaps, that we ought to have overlooked them: and in this disposition they may impute motives to me as foreign to my principles as to my inclination. I assure you that the conduct of Lord Hobart gives me great uneasiness; and that Speke and Cowper equally participate in my concern. It is my wish to leave this country next January; and it cannot be pleasant to leave my reputation in the power of a man who must feel resentment against me. It must be equally disagreeable to Speke and Cowper to act with him. Private and personal considerations are therefore opposed to public duty; but I will not sacrifice it on that account. You know my declared principles: they are stated most explicitly; and I will, as far as possible, act up to them, unless I am told that they are wrong. I have been compelled to give a proof of the consistency of my conduct, by recalling ——— from Oude; not for dishonesty or intentional misconduct, but for gross imprudence; in short, for doing what Lord Hobart has done at Tanjore. Let me request your particular attention to my Minute on the subject of Tanjore, and your notice of the dates. I cannot resist giving you a copy of one paper which does not appear on the records transmitted to us from Madras. It was delivered to me by one of my aides-de-camp, with authority to make public use of it; but I did not choose to avail myself, in a public argument, of an unofficial communication. I have no doubt of the authenticity of it; for the substance of it is alluded to by Macleod, the Tanjore Resident. The paper contains copies of correspondence between Colonel Baird*, Commandant at Tanjore, and the Resident; and may possibly be found in the Madras Proceedings. At all events, we have called for them.

"I most sincerely rejoice that your attention has been particularly directed to our despatches. Anxious as I am for public approbation, I most conscientiously declare to you that I have a far greater anxiety to do right, and to have my errors, when I commit them, pointed out. To avoid error is impossible; and there is no safer way of averting the consequences, than by avowing and correcting them.

"I have always endeavoured to make my superiors as well informed of the state of affairs as myself; but it has been my particular study to point out the principles of my conduct; not only as a check upon myself, by furnishing data for my condemnation, if I deviate from them, but to establish grounds for a permanent system of Administration. Your Court should ever particularly attend to this. I gave Mr. Dundas and Lord Cornwallis a paper containing my political creed; and you can obtain it from either. I trust, upon perusal of it, you will find that I have steadily adhered to my declared principles. Whenever your Governors in India act from discretion, according to temporary emergencies, your safety will become precarious; and whatever partial inconvenience may result from adherence to fixed principles of policy—and they will occur—the remedy will be found in perseverance. No man can calculate the consequence of a violation of a moral principle; and there is some justness in your suspicion, that the inveteracy of the Rohillas may be traced to the injustice of 1774. Our reputation for justice and good faith stands high in India; and if I were disposed to depart from them, I could form alliances which would shake the Mahratta Empire to its very foundations. I will rather trust the permanency of our dominion to a perseverance in true principles; which must always command respect, even from those who from personal interests would wish a departure from them. Would the Mahrattas and the Nizam, so jealous of our power, have united with us against Tippoo, if they had not a confidence in us? Certainly not. Never was there a wiser prohibition than that contained in the statutes against the prosecution of the wars of ambition.

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* Afterwards General Sir David Baird.

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"I am affectionately yours."

"TO MARQUIS CORNWALLIS.

"MY LORD— "July 6, 1796.

"We have now almost accomplished the embarrassing detail of the Army Regulations; and I cannot say that I expect much credit for what we have done. I will not trouble you with particulars, which you will learn from other quarters; but merely state, that no subject ever occupied more of my attention; and, that, in the execution of the arrangement, I have submitted to circumstances which I could not controul. With reference to the state of the army at the close of the last year, to the commencement of discontent during the present, and to the fermentation excited by the publication of the Regulations, and to the effect of these causes on discipline and subordination, my determination was formed upon the following argument:—That the establishment of some arrangement was indispensable; that to meet the wishes of the army, by forming an arrangement here in lieu of that prescribed in Europe, would be dangerous, and perhaps impracticable; and that the only mode left, was to modify the Regulations, so far as to conciliate the concurrence of the officers in them, and prevent the reiteration of complaints, remonstrances, and protests. Thus far, I believe, we have succeeded; and the efforts of the Commander-in-Chief, supported by Government, must re-establish order and discipline. I am not ashamed to confess to you, that I am little qualified, by habit or experience, to contend with a discontented army; and that if the Commander-in-Chief cannot controul them, I know not how to effect it. He is sure of my support on all occasions.

. . . .

"I have the honour to be,
"My Lord,
"Your Lordship's most sincere," &c. &c.

CHAPTER XII.

DEFENSIVE MEASURES AGAINST TIPPOO—TREATY WITH THE RAJAH OF TRAVANCORE—DUTCH FLEET CAPTURED—ZEMAUN SHAH—THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL VISITS OUDE, AND REFORMS THE VIZIER'S ADMINISTRATION.

Tippoo's hostile demonstrations rendered necessary, notwithstanding their differences, the zealous co-operation of the Supreme and Madras Governments; and at the same time induced Sir J. Shore to deviate, in one instance, and in one alone, from his established policy, by forming a subsidiary treaty with the Rajah of Travancore, coupled with conditions precluding the British Government from interference with the internal administration of the affairs of that State.

Tippoo's hopes had been again roused at the close of 1796, by the expected arrival of the Dutch and French combined fleets. And the Governor-General instructed Lord Hobart to prepare his troops for taking the field at the shortest notice; assembled a force on the frontier of the Bengal Presidency, ready to advance upon the Carnatic; and authorised the Governor of Bombay, not only to adopt defensive measures on the Malabar coast but to pursue the enemy into Tippoo's territories, should they land in that quarter. Tippoo was intimidated by this timely display of vigour; the French fleet never arrived; the Dutch was captured by Admiral Elphinstone; and the Dutch East-India possessions, including the Spice Islands, had been previously annexed to the British Crown, by a spirited expedition under Lord Hobart's immediate direction.

On the Northern portion of India, Zemaun Shah, the ambitious and enterprising Sultan of Lahore, sought, with increasing cupidity, an opportunity of wresting the fertile plains of Oude from the feeble grasp of its unwarlike Nabobs. He had derived from his predecessor, Ahmed Shah Duranee, not only the State which that renowned conqueror had founded in 1740, but a numerous and well-disciplined army, and the fame which it had acquired under his command, in his several invasions of Hindostan, and particularly in his celebrated victory over the Mahrattas at Paniput. During twenty years, Zemaun Shah indulged, without realising, his dream of extended empire; and bequeathed his inherited possessions to a successor, whose name is associated with recent historical recollections—the well-known Runjeet Sing.

Sir J. Shore mustered an army of 15,000 men in the Upper Provinces, to resist the Northern invader;

and availed himself of the salutary dread with which Zemaun Shah's measures were regarded by the Vizier of Oude, to repair to that kingdom, to effect the necessary reform in the administration. And the death of the sovereign compelled him to visit Oude a second time, and accomplish a revolution under circumstances of no small embarrassment and danger.

"TO THE RIGHT HON. HENRY DUNDAS.

"DEAR SIR— "September 9, 1796.

. . . .

"Our political atmosphere is rather cloudy. You will find that the conduct of the Nizam is wavering and doubtful: those amongst his counsellors who have most influence with him are exerting it, to make him break with the Company, and unite with Tippoo. The latter is making preparations which have a hostile appearance, in the probable expectation of co-operation with an European enemy; and the Mahrattas are too much occupied with their intestine feuds to afford us any effectual assistance, in the event of a war.

"If Tippoo should obtain the co-operation of a French force, I think it certain that he will attack the Company. If Azim-ul-Omrah should soon return to Hydrabad, as appearances indicate, I think it more than probable that he will support his Highness's connection with us, than with Tippoo.

"If the latter can obtain the co-operation of the Nizam without the assistance of an European enemy, there is much reason to apprehend an attack from him; nor am I confident that he will not attempt it, unsupported. I think the co-operation of the Nizam doubtful, and our dependence upon him for assistance equally so.

"We long ago desired the Madras Government to consider the state of their forts and garrisons, and the disposition of their troops, with a view to an eventual junction of Tippoo with the French. We have now directed them to have their army prepared for taking the field; and we are concerting the means of rendering them assistance.

"If the Nizam should shew a disposition to take part against us, I shall endeavour to bring the Berar Rajah into the field against him.

"I trust that our army is improved in discipline since the promulgation of the Regulations; and I have no doubt that, in the event of a war, their zeal and valour will be as conspicuous as they have ever been.

"Report speaks of an invasion of Hindostan by Zemaun Shah, and, with respect to his intention, is entitled to credit. I have no suspicion that he meditates permanent conquests, or to attack the

Vizier's territories, but that his object is predatory. The execution of his intentions will be hazardous, unless he can obtain the co-operation of the Sikhs, and hostages for the continuance of it; and I have great doubt as to his success.

"Under the present circumstances, therefore, precautionary instructions have been issued for measures to be adopted for the security of the Vizier's dominions. If Zemaun Shah should come to Dehli, and if no preparations were made to oppose him, he might be tempted to extend his depredations as far as Lucknow. I have directed particular attention to the conduct of the Rohillahs.

"If Tippoo should commence hostilities against the English, I shall not think of returning to England, as the vigour and energy of Lord Hobart will be particularly wanted in the Carnatic.

"Notwithstanding your intention to furnish us with a strong naval force, we are actually at this moment in a most defenceless state, and six French frigates parade the Bay in triumph. The fundamental error was the expedition against the Spice Islands, which I never approved: our opposition arrived too late to stop it. I have never ceased to lament this expedition, as we have risked by it much more than we can ever gain.

. . . .

"I have the honour to be, Dear Sir," &c. &c.

"TO THE SAME.

"DEAR SIR— "Calcutta, October 11, 1796.

"The Nizam has applied to our Resident to have the detachment recalled. His motives are ostensibly friendly; but he has certainly, in this instance, acted under the influence of those of his Ministers who wish to promote an union between their master and Tippoo. The inconstancy of the Nizam's conduct is so evident, as to convince me that he is nearly in a state of dotage; but, notwithstanding the suspicions dictated by his proposition for the return of the detachment, I am still of opinion that he will not enter into any engagements with Tippoo hostile to the Company.

"The party of Sindiah and the Brahmins still maintains its ascendency at Poonah.

. . . .

"I am not, I confess, without anxiety as to Tippoo's interference in the Mahratta contests, and of our implication. I have frequently revolved both the obligation and policy of our interposition, if Tippoo should seize the opportunity to invade the Mahratta territories; and I am at present inclined to admit the obligations of the treaty as binding both upon us and the Nizam. I shall detail my measures in a Minute which I am preparing, but which I fear will not be ready to go by this conveyance. But if a civil war should take place previous to any attack by Tippoo, our interference will rather be a question of expediency than obligation. Whilst there is a Peshwah, our connection remains; but if there should be two Peshwahs, each supported by a strong party, the situation of things would be changed, and the obligations arising out of the treaty might or might not be admitted in favour of one or the other. I speak with reference to an invasion by Tippoo only, not to the domestic dissensions of the Mahrattas; and I hope the dilemma will not occur.

. . . .

"I have the honour to be, Dear Sir,
"Your obliged and faithful Servant."

"TO MAJOR KIRKPATRICK.

"MY DEAR SIR— "Bengal, Nov. 21, 1796.

"I know not, as yet, what to make of the new Revolution at Poonah, nor am I convinced that it will ultimately prove favourable to us. Nana must have been concerned in it: but will Bajerow derive any benefit from it? I think not; because it will be the interest of Sindiah to replace Chimnajee, and keep Bajerow in his power, as a check upon Nana, to be brought forward upon occasion. Nana will be against it also, because he can better manage Chimnajee than Bajerow. Sindiah sets out with a vigour which may prove dangerous hereafter; but the seeds of discord now sown amongst the Mahratta Chieftains will bring forth a plentiful crop. I expect to see all the insolence of the Hydrabad Court revive, upon Azim-ul-Omrah's return with success; yet I think he will not unite with Tippoo. I feel much indignation at being compelled to overlook the duplicity of the Nizam; and if I were sure of security from the French, I should reproach him. Such an ally is worse than an open foe:—thanks to your diligence and abilities in tracing the foxes, through their windings, to their holes!

"I think, however, that we shall have no war in India. Tippoo will wait the progress of the new Revolution at Poonah, or the arrival of the French, before he ventures to break with us. In another month I expect large reinforcements: we have, however, prepared a body of troops to march towards the Deccan, about 4500 men: they will march to Midnapore on the 15th; and, if necessary, we shall augment them to double the number. I trust there will be no necessity for their proceeding.

. . . .

"Yours sincerely."

"TO THE HON. JONATHAN DUNCAN.

"DEAR DUNCAN— "Bengal, Nov. 23, 1796.

. . . .

"I confess to you, my friend, that few events could have given me more concern than the detection of ———, in opposition to the opinion which I entertained of his integrity. It is mortifying to find our confidence so abused and overturned. You have done your duty, and great public service, in bringing those black transactions into public exposure; and our opinions will give weight to your sentiments;—and on this account I really feel pleasure in affording you my support. In this instance, I have no objection to your reference to us; but I think, my friend, you make them oftener than is necessary. Have more confidence in your own judgment, which will rarely deceive you. I know it is impossible to avoid oversights and mistakes; but I always say to myself, that meaning to do well, and taking pains to effect it, I can never commit any irretrievable errors; and always thank the man who enables me to correct them. I feel a very sincere interest in your personal welfare, and in the reputation of your Government, with a confidence that it will daily increase.

. . . .

"We shall lose Sir R. Abercrombie this year. The

Company never had a more upright, honourable, zealous servant. I really have the greatest esteem for him. As for myself, I have formed no determination. My wish is to retire, provided I can do it with credit and safety. His Lordship[*] is disposed to bring the point to issue; as he has written to the Court of Directors substantially, that either he or I must go. I shall form my determination at the end of next month, without any regard to his Lordship's sentiments.

"I am affectionately," &c.

"TO THE REV. J. W. SHORE.

"MY DEAR BROTHER— "Dec. 21, 1796.

. . . .

"Few persons occupied as I am bestow more time, I believe, in serious reading. Jortin is still my favourite; and amongst other books, I have lately perused his remarks on Ecclesiastical History. But few literary compositions have afforded me more pleasure than Paley's Evidences, which approach to demonstration as nearly as moral testimony can do. My opinion was before fixed, and I trust unalterably; but the train of reasoning which led to conviction in me, is, as far as his book goes, the same which Paley has followed, but with a clearness, precision, and solidity which I could not attain. I will venture to assert that few books were ever published so well calculated to overturn the sophistry and quibbles of a Hume or Gibbon, and to satisfy those who search for truth impartially. If ever I have the pleasure to meet the Archdeacon, I shall give him the satisfaction of informing him, that his work, to my knowledge, has had a most beneficial influence on some minds. I have also read with great delight Watson's reply to Tom Paine's rascally effusions:

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[*] Lord Hobart.

——Delirant (philosophi), plectuntur Achivi.

. . . .

"Dr. Roxburgh is our Botanist—and a most able one! He has sent home about 1300 drawings of Indian plants, now publishing at the expense of the Court of Directors, and under the auspices of Sir Joseph Banks. Considering the duties which every individual in this country has to discharge, the inclemency of the climate, and the numerous obstacles to all scientific researches, I do not think we merit the reproach of carelessness or indifference. Our Society is a centre to which numerous rays converge; and although they may not be very brilliant, they afford some light. Our Sun is for ever set; and he will not soon be succeeded by another. You will conceive I mean Sir William Jones."

. . . .

How much Sir J. Shore's attention was directed to the evidences of Christianity appears from the above and other Letters. He was so struck with the argument derived from St. Paul's conversion, that he composed a treatise in which he exactly pursued the reasoning employed by Lord Lyttleton in his celebrated work, without being at the time aware of its existence.

"TO WILLIAM BENSLEY, ESQ.

"MY DEAR FRIEND— "Bengal, Jan. 7, 1797.

. . . .

"Lord Hobart is made very happy, by an overland despatch, dated in August, announcing the satisfactory intelligence, that the measures of his Administration, including his negociations with the Nabob and his treaties with the Rajah of Tanjore and King of Candia, are approved*. With respect

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* The result of the decision of the Court of Directors on the differences between the Supreme and Madras Governments on the Carnatic Affair, was the recall of Lord Hobart; whilst their condemnation of the course he had pursued may be inferred from their strict injunctions to Lord Mornington to abstain from compulsory proceedings, in his application to the Nabob. That nobleman's efforts proved at first unsuccessful; but, subsequently, the discovery of the Nabob's intrigues with Tippoo afforded him just grounds for more summary proceedings.

In reference to Tanjore, the Directors sanctioned Lord Hobart's Treaty with the Rajah.

The

to the first, I see nothing in the Orders of the Court, as far as we have them, disagreeing with our sentiments. On his Treaty with the Rajah of Tanjore I think it impossible that public approbation can be bestowed, when the Court have *all* the documents on this subject before them. With respect to the last, it is a mixed question, to which general approbation or disapprobation cannot apply. For my own part, I am so thoroughly satisfied with my own principles in all the questions referred to, that it appears to me impossible to condemn them; and I shall feel a consciousness in the recollections of them, when I see India as in a dream.

The Letters have had one effect upon his Lordship, at which I sincerely rejoice—that of determining him to remain in India: and if we disagree in

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The Directors approved the Governor-General's opinion of Lord Hobart's Treaty with the King of Candia (Aug. 3, 1796); whilst, in reviewing the whole transaction, of which it formed a part, they commend highly the zeal displayed both by the Governor-General and by Lord Hobart in their respective shares of it.

Lord Hobart, on quitting India, was complimented with Addresses by the Court of Proprietors and the Directors, and also by the British inhabitants of Madras, bearing unanimous testimony to the great zeal and ability of his administration, and especially to his uncompromising opposition to the prevailing usury and corruption. In consideration of his services, and in compensation for his disappointment in not succeeding to the Governor-Generalship, Lord Hobart received 1500*l.* annual pension from the Company. (Debates at East-India House, Dec. 5, 1799.)

future, it will be his fault. To confess honestly, I believe my greatest fault is, that I do not *quarrel* enough; or, in other words, that I am not often enough disposed to find fault.

We lose, this year, Sir Robert Abercrombie, the two Murrays, and George Robinson, with many others. My respect and esteem for Sir Robert have increased with my knowledge of his character. What he was at Bombay, I know not: he has been here, mild, conciliating, and unassuming, from the first; and it is only justice to him to declare, that a more honourable, upright, zealous man never served the Company. I assure you, with great truth, that I have ever found him anxious to promote the public good, either by his own efforts or by assisting those of others. I certainly do not think his abilities equal to his situation, and there are few men who have abilities equal to it: but I believe that his have been under-estimated, and that his greatest fault (I have already acknowledged mine) is his good-nature. He will retire with a very moderate fortune: for money was never his object: he thinks too little of it.

In general, I am well served by those about me; and no Governor-General, however gigantic his abilities, could conduct all the business himself. It is my endeavour to preserve a superintendence over all, leaving to every man the conduct of his own department. This gives or inspires confidence: and, in truth, a man at the head of a department ought to know the business of it better than any other. It is my duty to see it well executed, and to judge of the general connection of particular propositions with the whole, so that the whole may not be sacrificed to a part.

. . . .

"I am, my Dear Sir,
"Your obliged and faithful," &c. &c.

"TO CHARLES GRANT, ESQ.

"MY DEAR SIR— "Bengal, Jan. 7, 1797.

. . . .

"In reverting to the public transactions during my Administration, including national politics as well as domestic dissatisfaction, it has been rather a turbulent scene. I am not conscious that I ever felt intimidated, or incapable of forming decisive resolutions when they were required. Relying upon Providence, and constantly invoking its protection, I have gone on with confidence in my principles, with doubt as to my judgment, and with submission to the event, as the dispensation of the Almighty. Yet my mind has not always preserved an equal tenour. I have been dispirited by disease, occasionally overwhelmed by the climate, and fluctuating in decision. I trust that these sensations are proofs of human infirmity only, or of my bodily debility, rather than of a deficiency in my religious principles. When you consider the embarrassed politics of the Nizam and the Mahrattas, the ever-to-be-suspected enmity of Tippoo, the madness of the French, the disorder in our army in Bengal, there has been surely enough to agitate any common mind, anxious for human prosperity, and for the particular welfare of those interests which are entrusted to my superintendence. When I reflect that the happiness of many millions depends upon my resolves, I cannot be without anxiety: and if my dependence were upon myself alone, I should shrink from the duties of my situation. But I thank my God, with heartfelt gratitude, that he has given me grace to look up to Him! and the portion of my gratitude is doubled, when I look back to the dangers which I have escaped. Without these sentiments, in my state of health, I should indeed have been a most miserable wretch—a prey to disease, anxiety, and misery—without hope, without confidence; and I must have sunk into despair. And, above all, I look back to the hours of indisposition as some of the happiest occurrences of my life—as the mild chastisements of a Being of infinite benevolence—as opportunities for reflection—and as admonitions to persevere and improve in the religious culture of my mind. May my gratitude for these blessings never cease! Yet I am sensible of omissions and negligences, and that without the continuance of Heavenly assistance my efforts must be in vain.

"I lose also, by these ships, my friend George Robinson*. His judgment and assistance were of essential use to me; and I shall not find it easy to supply the want of them. He and Mrs. Robinson have lately lost two children; and his determination to return to England proceeds from this.—I trust it has had the good effect of making him think seriously on Religion. Lady Shore has contributed her assistance to promote it with Mrs. Robinson, and I have not neglected to do the same with Robinson. I trust that our efforts have not been fruitless. What a happiness for man that he has a God to look up to, in the hour of distress!—what happiness, when this frame of mind becomes habitual! Most thoroughly am I convinced that all the cheerfulness, integrity, or self-command which I possess are due to the doctrines of the New Testament; and that in proportion as I neglect them, I become restless, uneasy, apprehensive, and unhappy.

. . . .

"I am," &c.

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* Afterwards, Sir George Robinson.

"TO THE RIGHT HON. HENRY DUNDAS.

"DEAR SIR— "Bengal, Jan. 10, 1797.

"I begin the present Letter in much better health and spirits than when I had last the honour to address you. The political horizon was more gloomy; the ambiguous conduct of the Nizam, the preparations of Tippoo, and the distracted situation of affairs at Poonah, involved so many alarming considerations, that I could not but deem the peace in India doubtful; and in these sentiments, it was indispensably necessary to make preparations against all contingencies, without betraying apprehension. Since that period, we have had the inexpressible satisfaction to hear of the capture of the Dutch Fleet by Admiral Elphinstone — an event of infinite importance to the British interests in India, whether considered in its immediate or remote consequences. The conduct of the Nizam has not only lost much of its ambiguity, but has been latterly ordinarily friendly. The preparations of Tippoo have not been extended in any degree to excite new alarm; and the settlement of the succession at Poonah has apparently put an end to the feuds which distracted the Mahratta Empire, and afforded a strong temptation to the interference of Tippoo.

. . . .

"The establishment of the Army Regulations has produced an effect beyond my expectations; and satisfaction and good humour have completely supplanted turbulent discontent.

"I have the honour to be," &c. &c.

"TO LORD HOBART.

"MY LORD— "Calcutta, Jan. 20, 1797.

. . . .

"From recent and successive accounts of the motions of Zemaun Shah we have thought it expedient to carry into execution the precautionary resolutions we long ago adopted for the securities of the Company and the Vizier, without any assistance from him. We shall have an army of near 15,000 men at the Upper Stations. If our intelligence can be depended upon, Zemaun Shah's troops are in actual possession of Lahore; and if he chooses to march beyond the Punjab, he will meet with little resistance. The rapidity of the Patan's motions allows little time for deliberation, and of course renders early precaution necessary; but I shall retain my conviction that he will not advance this season beyond the Punjab. If he were to reach Delhi, he would be joined by the Northern Rajahs and numerous bodies of Patans, Rohillahs, and other military adventurers who swarm in the Upper Provinces; and the danger to the Vizier might be serious.

"I am," &c. &c.

Zemaun Shah's movements were imputed to the intrigues of Tippoo and the French: but the Governor-General professed himself incredulous on this point.

"TO MAJOR KIRKPATRICK.

"MY DEAR SIR— "Calcutta, Jan. 28, 1797.

"I have answered all your public Letters received to this date. You will see, from my public measures, that I adopt substantially your opinion against Sir Charles Malet's. I have no doubt that Tippoo looks for war with the English; that he wishes it; and that if he could prevail on the Nizam to join him, or obtain effectual assistance from the French, he would attack us;—and that he will remain quiet if these suppositions be not verified. And although I think that there is little probability that they will be verified, I am perfectly satisfied that prudent precaution, without betraying alarm, is the wisest policy. It has been our error to be too distrustful of danger. In general, I think you have much the advantage of

Sir Charles Malet in your argument; although you may, perhaps, push it a little too far, whilst he is unreasonably diffident. The Nizam, or Azim-ul-Omrah, may make use of Medina Sahib to alarm us, with a view to secure Kurnoul; but this will not account for Tippoo's object in sending his ambassador to the Nizam: motives so distant must be explained by different principles, in judging of the conduct of States and Princes. Although it is safest to draw our conclusions from their interests, we must allow for the operation of other motives, not always reconcileable either to their wisdom or true interest.

"It has often, I confess, surprised me, that you have been able to collect so much information, without the discovery of your secret agents: you must in this instance have managed with great ability. With that diffidence which must attend intelligence so obtained, I have examined the communications made to you; and have found the particulars so often confirmed, that I could not distrust the substantial truth of them, allowing something for the anxiety of the communicants to make their disclosures appear as important as possible. Much must be useless or uninteresting; but if you confined the details of your intelligence to points of importance only, it would be impossible to understand them, to trace their connection, or to have the means of ascertaining the veracity of your informers. You will see, from an extract of our secret Letter to Europe, which I will beg Barlow to send you, in what light I esteem your conduct. I think Sir Charles Malet has not dealt quite fairly with you, in this exposition of your opinions; but he has been misled by his prepossessions, not by his intention. The account of the Poonah intrigues does credit to his pen and his judgment.

. . . .

"I am, my Dear Sir,
"Yours very sincerely."

The Governor-General now visited Oude. His object, as it has been already stated, was the reform of the inveterate corruptions of the Vizier's administration. And the agent, of whose instrumentality he proposed chiefly to avail himself in carrying his plans into effect, was one of the most able and upright Native statesmen, whose unsullied reputation has shed its light on the dark page of Indian history—Tufuzzool Hossein Khan.

This individual had been long known at Calcutta as the Vizier's Vakeel or Minister. Resisting all the temptations to indolence, arrogance, and profligacy, to which his high rank and the almost universal licentiousness of his sovereign's court exposed him, he was remarkable for the simplicity and modesty of his deportment, unimpeachable integrity, and indefatigable diligence in the prosecution of manly and liberal studies. His fame as a scholar and a mathematician was established by a Translation of Newton's 'Principia' into Persian, and an original Treatise on Fluxions. He was earnestly desirous of repairing to those fountain-heads of knowledge whose streams had refreshed his thirsting spirit. He at length indulged the prospect of speedily realizing his hope, by accompanying Sir John Shore, with whom he had formed a cordial friendship, to England; when the latter persuaded him to enter upon the irksome and disgusting, but patriotic task of superintending and reforming the Vizier's Government. "Never," observes Sir John Shore, "did man undertake office with greater reluctance: and on relinquishing it, after the Vizier's death, in the following year, he did so without the least pecuniary benefit to himself. Calumny never reproached him with a single act of extortion." (*Selections from Journal.*)

The Governor-General hoped to prevail upon the Nabob, not only to transfer the reins of power from the hands of his own profligate Minister to those of Tufuzzool Hossein Khan, but also to cede the important fortress of Allahabad, and a tract of country equivalent to the discharge of his stipulated debt, to the Company. But the retreat of Zemaun Shah released the Nabob from the apprehension of an insurrection of the Rohillas, on the dexterous management of which the Governor-General rested chiefly the success of his negociations: and he obtained only the proposed change of administration, and the payment of five and a half lacs of rupees additional to the Nabob's former tribute.

The following Letters were written by Sir John Shore whilst absent from Calcutta:—

"TO LADY SHORE.

"Benares, Feb. 8, 1797.

"I wrote to you a very hurried scrawl yesterday, giving you an account of my occupations. At half-past two, I proceeded in state, accompanied by Collins, George, and Edmonstone, to visit the Begum, or widow of the eldest son of the present King of Delhi, who resided in Benares and died a few years ago, and his two sons.

. . . .

"These poor descendants of Imperial dignity maintain the forms of royalty: and we mutually acted parts inconsistent with our real characters; I, the Representative of our Power, professing humility and submission before the dependants on the bounty of the Company; whilst they, who are the objects of charity, and feeling their situation, thought it incumbent on them to use the language of Princes. I was caparisoned with a sword, shield, and turban; and the Princes took off their jackets, which I put on. In short, what between sensibility at the misfortunes of those descendants from the stock of Tamerlane, and my sense of the ridiculous character I was acting, my feelings cannot be described.

"I arrived here without any thing; and I have found every thing. You have heard of the talisman which had the power of the magician's wand: it was waved, and fixtures appeared. The name of the Governor-General is a talisman, which will not indeed erect palaces, but give me the use of them: it produces plenty in the midst of wilds, and conveniences in the land of sterility.

"To-day, I go to visit the Rajah of Benares, where I expect to find a complete contrast to the misery of yesterday:—not that the Princes are in fact miserable, for they have at least ten thousand rupees per month. To-day I expect to find all the comforts of opulence and happy dependence.

"I have no fears about Zemaun Shah: he was at Lahore on the 17th of January: and if he come to Delhi this year, he must make haste. I think the prospective danger alarming;—the immediate danger, a very good instrument in promoting my views with the Vizier.—There are politics for you! . . . . . My prayers attend you all!

. . . .

"From Benares to Juanpoor the road was too dusty to admit of my observing the country; but the scenery around Juanpoor is delightful. The town was built more than four hundred years ago, and was long the residence of dignity and opulence; the remains of which it still exhibits, in mosques, and other buildings of great beauty and magnitude. The large mosque is very grand: the centre is more than a hundred feet in length. The representation of it by Daniel was most accurate, and not exaggerated. There is another of less dimensions and more beautiful workmanship; and mosques are scattered all over the country, which abounds with topes, or groves, placed with an elegance, the merit of which taste might arrogate, although I believe it to be due to chance. There are no hills or dales; but the face of the country is beautifully undulated, so as to be free from the dull uniformity of a flat. The fort is a romantic and interesting building, in ruins sufficient to give it a most picturesque appearance; but still capable, with a very little expense, of being made impregnable to all but European artillery. It has also, literally and metaphorically, sublimity; for I conceive the highest bastions to be elevated eighty or a hundred feet above the level of the River Goomty, which winds at the foot of it, with a stream as broad and as clear as the Thames at Richmond. We passed by a paved bridge of stone consisting of thirteen arches, built, as I ascertained by a Persian inscription, more than four hundred years ago. I could almost fancy, when I was upon it, that I was trampling an English pavement. Why could you not be with me, my dear wife?"

. . . .

"Fifty-six Miles from Lucknow, Feb. 19, 1797.

. . . .

"The Nabob and myself visit daily, and are in the best humour imaginable with each other. His disposition is naturally good, but irritated by bad advisers, mean associates, and absolute power; which, however, he does not exercise cruelly. He promotes rather than performs bad actions. A few years ago, an Englishman, for his Excellency's amusement, introduced the elegant European diversion of a race in sacks by old women: the Nabob was delighted beyond measure, and declared, that although he had spent a crore of rupees, or a million sterling, in procuring entertainment, he had never found one so pleasing to him. So much for the amusements of Sovereignty! Every evening, almost, he stupifies himself with opium; the effects of which are often felt in the morning, in sickness, vomiting, languor, and dejection of spirits. His confidants are the meanest and lowest people: he dreads the society of men of worth, capable of controlling his conduct.

. . . .

" February 21, 1797.

. . . .

" With the Vizier all goes on well, and, I trust, will end well. Tufuzzool Hossein Khan smooths my way; and has, by superior merit and wisdom, and respectability of character, a marked ascendency over the Lucknow minions. I rode thirteen miles this morning, on two of the finest horses in India; and made no more of a ditch or a bank than if I had been a regular fox-hunter all my life.

. . . .

" I am not unmindful of the goodness of Providence to me; and my thoughts frequently turn towards my Maker with gratitude. I pray to Him to give me a due sense of His mercies, and to protect, support, and comfort you and my dear children."

. . . .

"Lucknow, Feb. 26, 1797.

. . . .

"In the evening of yesterday I dined with General Martine; who is a most extraordinary character, and every thing about him. The house is built on the bank of the River Goomty, and boats passed under the room in which we dined. He has under-ground apartments, even with the edge of the water, the most comfortable in the world in the hot weather, and most elegantly decorated. As the water rises, he ascends: the lower story is always filled by the river in the rains, and the second generally: when the water subsides, they are repaired and decorated. The two rooms containing the company, consisting of somewhat more than forty ladies and gentlemen, were covered with glasses, pictures, and prints: in short, you could see no walls three feet from the floor. He had a pair of glasses ten feet in length, and proportionably wide; and estimated his glasses and lustres only, in the said two rooms, at forty thousand rupees, or £4500. It would require a week at least to examine the contents of his house. The old General is a Swiss; and talks English about a degree better than Tiritta, interlarding every sentence with 'What do you call it?' . . . 'Do you see?' . . . . He is, however, a man of much penetration and observation; and his language would be elegant if it corresponded with his ideas. His singularities are amusing, not ridiculous. There was dancing in the evening; and a very pretty exhibition of fire-works on the opposite side of the river, which pleased me, and would have delighted and frightened Charlotte."

"February 28, 1797.

. . . .

"This day I had a private audience with the Nabob, from which we separated both much pleased. I have, however, refused a fortune for you and your younger children. Notwithstanding he was repeatedly told that I would accept nothing, he had prepared five lacs of rupees and eight thousand gold mohurs for me; of which I was to have four lacs, my attendants one, and your Ladyship the gold. My answer to his Excellency was this:—That a barleycorn from him was equal in my sight to a million; but that I could not but express my concern that he and his people were so ignorant of our customs, and of my character, to make such an offer, which I peremptorily declined. I added, that I had seen in his *shusha kana* (literally, glass-house, but a complete European shop) some pictures of his Excellency, of which I begged to have one, as a memorial of his friendship: and I took one, about fifteen inches square, done by Zoffani (not set with diamonds), which is a strong resemblance of the Nabob; and for which, to say the truth, I would not give two-pence*.—It pleased him."

"March 3, 1797

. . . .

"I have had another conversation with the Vizier to-day; and am in good spirits, which is more than the Vizier was yesterday. He is a weathercock; and to fix him, is my task—'No easy one,' you will say. After leaving me, he was closetted with his crew of fools, panders, and flatterers: and when Tufuzzool visited him in the evening, he told him I wanted to turn his house topsy-turvy, and sweep the Augean stable clean.—I wish I could! but I am not a Hercules, to contend with monsters.—This was before his favourites. He then had a private and confidential communication with Tufuzzool, who is minutely informed of all my acts and words, and who, with that masterly eloquence and honour which he possesses, strengthened and enforced all the dictates of my wisdom, parried the suggested inferences of the base crew, soothed his apprehensions, and inspired him with confidence in me.—All this I knew before.

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* Excepting some rings, of no value, sent to Lady Teignmouth by the blind old King of Delhi, this portrait was the only present from a Native Sovereign which Lord Teignmouth received in India.

. . . .

"Tufuzzool Hossein Khan is an invaluable man to me: he even speaks plainer to the Nabob than I do. His reflections on what has passed, is, 'that I have done as much as possible since I have been here, unless I had adopted the dragooning plan.'—*Nous verrons!*"

"March 19, 1797.

. . . .

"Having written thus far, I retired to my room, and, with a devotion I was happy to feel, poured forth my confessions and supplications to the Almighty, imploring His pardon for my offences, grace to be sensible of His mercy to me, His assistance as well in my temporal as spiritual concerns, and His protection upon you and my dear babes.—I find my mind easier for the performance of this duty.—How little are my performances, in comparison of what they ought to be! I think God knows that He is in my heart, and that I have not forgotten Him. As trust in His providence is my support, in Him I put my reliance.

"I shall certainly remain here time enough to hear of your arrival in Calcutta. Such a scene of folly and contradictions I never witnessed; but I wade through it quietly, steadily, and with a temperance I hardly thought myself master of.—

I trust that God will prosper my endeavours, by shewing me the right way."

. . . .

"TO WILLIAM WILBERFORCE, ESQ.

"MY DEAR SIR— "Lucknow, March 25th, 1797.

"Your obliging Letter of the 2d July, from Buxton, reached me at this place, whilst I was conversing with the Nabob. I left the seat of my Government to pay him a visit—not entirely of ceremony, as you may suppose; and, since my arrival here, I have been talking to him on subjects which never entered his imagination—the prosperity of his country, the happiness of his subjects, the improvement of his Administration, and the dignity of his character. *Mendici, mimæ, Balatrones, hoc genus omne,* with fools, knaves, and sycophants, compose the Court of the Illustrious Ruler of millions!—Never did I undertake so unpleasant a task. If I have not, however, impressed him with ideas more suitable to his situation, I have at least established the influence of the Company with him on stronger grounds than before.

"I will not subject myself to an imputation of flattery, by telling you all that I feel on your re-election for the County of York. It does you credit, and honour to your Constituents. By the same post which brought me your Letter, I received one mentioning the election of a Gentleman with whom I am distantly connected, and that it cost him 50,000*l.*!

. . . .

"I could write to you volumes of serious reflections, which have originated at this place, if I had not other duties which require every moment of my time. I am now not far from Delhi, once the capital of the largest empire in the world, Russia perhaps excepted. The present possessor of the throne, the descendant of Tamerlane, lives in darkness, surrounded with empty state and real penury, a pensioner on the niggard bounty of the Mahrattas, from whom he receives less than the Duke of Bedford does from his tenants. He supplicates me on the terms of royalty; and his son is here, a dependant on the benevolence of the Nabob, from whom he receives a comfortable subsistence.—Wonderful are the dispensations of Providence! and I feel them in myself.

. . . .

"I shall now reply to your Postscript. Our Nabob furnishes an instance in point. For the last seventeen years of his life, he has been in the habit of taking opium, the produce of this country, and, from its adulteration, less powerful than that which comes from Turkey, in perhaps a fifth degree. He began with a very small quantity, about two grains *per diem;* and he now takes four pills of about twenty grains each, in the course of the twenty-four hours; certainly equal to sixty-four grains of the strongest Turkey opium. He assures me that it never affects his appetite or strength, and there is no appearance of decay in either. He enjoys a remarkably good state of health; and is subject, as far as I can learn, to no complaint, but occasional vomiting in a moderate degree, which requires no medical assistance. Some years ago, there was a native of India residing here who swallowed, if a variety of eye-witnesses may be credited, a quantity of opium, (*horresco referens!*) in the course of twenty-four hours, not less than a pound and a half! He was a stout corpulent man; and died at the age of seventy, after a short illness of three days. My Nabob is about forty-eight years old. There are many who take one or two ounces a-day. In general, it has been found that the habitual use of any given quantity loses its effect; that, to continue its efficacy, the quantity must be increased; that it brings on a thin habit, and debility; that if, by accident, the dose is omitted, languor, anxiety, and depression, succeed; and that it induces premature old age. During the use of it, the spirits are improved; and I do not find that the Nabob sleeps more than others, or that the use of opium would disqualify him for business, if no other disqualification existed.

"Upon the whole, I think, from observation, that the use of it, commenced at a period of life when the natural infirmities begin, might often tend to relieve them, without any material ill consequence. The bad effects of opium are most conspicuous in those who indulge in it at an early period.—I may hereafter be able to send you a better detail. I must now conclude, with an assurance that I have the greatest pleasure in subscribing myself,

"My Dear Sir, your very sincere," &c.

The writer of this Letter, it must be observed, entertained an insuperable aversion to the use of opium. He could not be induced to take it, even medicinally. And in his last illness, his physician was obliged, when administering it to him, to disguise it, so that he could not detect it.

The Nabob died this very year, the victim of his excesses.

"TO THE HON. JONATHAN DUNCAN.

"DEAR DUNCAN— "Calcutta, May 10, 1797.

. . . .

"My time at Lucknow, where I remained about six weeks, did not pass in amusement, or even pleasantly. I was engaged in the very disagreeable attempt of making an Ethiopian white; and I cannot flatter myself that I have made much impression on his complexion.

. . . .

"I could, upon the dragooning plan, have accomplished all this in five days: upon my principles, it required as many weeks. I was, however, obliged to appear somewhat angry with his Excellency; and he has been very angry since I went away, and very submissive.

. . . .

"I enter into your feelings on public business, because I participate them in some degree; and my feelings are not as much alive as yours. Whenever my judgment is fully satisfied about any measure, I may and must be solicitous about the result; and I care not what judgments are passed upon it. Do you not see, that there is not a single measure of consequence proposed by the Minister in Europe which is not impugned by the Opposition? I mean to do well: I want not common sense; and I take pains to form the best judgment I can upon events: the rest must depend upon what I cannot controul. You must, My friend, assume a greater confidence in yourself, and act more independently of opinion. You never will go on with the business satisfactorily without it.

All your Letters, even on trifling subjects, betray the extreme anxiety which you feel: it is a proof of the goodness of your principles, and of your zeal for the public good; but all the world knows them, and admits them. My Letters from Europe are very satisfactory and encouraging; but I should not have been affected had they been otherwise.

. . . .

"I repeat again, you want nothing but a confidence in yourself.

. . . .

"Surely there is no comparison between you and your predecessor, either in judgment, experience, or zeal. Possessing those talents in the degree you do, you must not let the world suspect your diffidence; they will draw conclusions to your prejudice from it.

. . . .

"I am your affectionate," &c.

"TO CHARLES GRANT, ESQ.

"Bengal, June 6, 1797.

. . . .

"I am by no means sorry to have undertaken this journey. It has enabled me to see clearly into the character of the Vizier, and the state of things at Lucknow; and has convinced me that the knowledge which I had before of both was, in many respects, imperfect, and in some erroneous. If such be the case with your Governments in India, notwithstanding the means which we possess of acquiring information, and diligence to avail myself of them, how comparatively little must your knowledge in England be! It has ever been my practice, as well as duty, to communicate to you all that I possess myself; but still there is a very wide difference between the knowledge acquired by observation and report: it is like the judgments formed upon oral or written evidence; and you are well apprised how much the behaviour of the witness augments or diminishes the weight of his testimony.

. . . .

"I have seen Mr. Buchanan*, whom I like much. His conduct during the voyage was highly meritorious, and introduced him into Bengal with the applause of his shipmates. Much of his time was devoted to the instruction of the young men. He is now hesitating whether or not to settle in Calcutta; and I am waiting to learn his determination, from our friend Brown. I cannot mention his name without adding my respect and esteem for him. If, upon full consideration of circumstances,

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* The Rev. Claudius Buchanan.

Mr. Buchanan should decide upon residing in Calcutta, I shall take upon myself to provide a proper footing for him.

. . . .

"It is our determination, as far as it is practicable for us to form it, to embark for England next season. I should most seriously regret any disappointment; and the war, of the termination of which I see no immediate prospect, will not deter us. Madness still rages in France; and Providence must interpose for the relief of the miseries of mankind. The treatment of Lord Malmesbury was most indignant; and Burke, like Cassandra, appears to have been too true a prophet. The nation will, however, be convinced that the continuance of the war is not owing to the Minister; in whose abilities, under Providence, I have the firmest reliance. I wrote to Mr. Wilberforce from Lucknow; and am still indebted both to him and Mr. Thornton. Happy shall I be to meet you in their society; and to be in a situation where I may with less interruption attend to the concerns of a future state. I thank God that they are not obliterated from my heart!—With our most affectionate remembrance to Mrs. Grant and your family,

"I am, my Dear Sir,

"Your sincere and obliged friend."

"TO WILLIAM BENSLEY, ESQ.

"MY DEAR FRIEND— "Bengal, July 21, 1797.

"The Newspapers from England anticipated the official notice of the re-appointment of Marquis Cornwallis to the Government-General and Command of the Army in India; and your obliging Letter, announcing the same important event. Nothing could have more surprised or pleased me. The sacrifice made by the Marquis is a magnanimous instance of his patriotism. I thank you and my friends most sincerely for undertaking for my assistance to his Lordship; and I promise you that it shall be most cordially and cheerfully offered. My acknowledgments are due to the Honourable Court for the terms of their Orders respecting me. I receive them as a flattering approbation of my conduct, which has ever, at least, been decided by zeal and integrity. You will readily conclude that I shall not hesitate a moment to act under Lord Cornwallis, if he wishes it, as long as I remain in India. I always esteemed, loved, and respected him; and I should indeed think meanly of myself, if vanity or personal considerations should influence me to withdraw from the administration of India, while my assistance in it can be rendered useful. His last resolution has increased my veneration for his character; and with his example before me, I shall be proud of emulating it.

"I am your affectionate Friend."

Sir John Shore's generous offer of acting in a subordinate capacity under Lord Cornwallis is particularly specified in a short Memorial of his services, compiled at the India House.

CHAPTER XIII.

MANILLA EXPEDITION—SIR J. SHORE AGAIN VISITS OUDE, AND DEPOSES THE REIGNING NABOB — ELEVATION TO THE IRISH PEERAGE —RELINQUISHES THE GOVERNMENT—REVIEW OF HIS ADMINISTRATION, AND STRICTURES ON IT CONSIDERED.

On his return from Lucknow, the Governor-General fitted out an expedition against the Spanish Islands; which derives some importance from the circumstance of its having been placed under the conduct of the future hero of his age, the Duke of Wellington, then the Hon. Colonel Wesley, who had arrived in India some time previous, in command of the 33d regiment. Amongst other Letters of introduction to Sir John Shore, of which the gallant officer was the bearer, was one expressing, in brief, soldier-like terms, the opinion of his merits entertained by the Colonel of his regiment:—

"MARQUIS CORNWALLIS TO SIR J. SHORE.

"DEAR SIR— "Whitehall, June 10, 1796.

"I beg leave to introduce to you Colonel Wesley, who is Lieut.-Colonel of my regiment: he is a sensible man, and a good officer; and will, I have no doubt, conduct himself in a manner to merit your approbation.

"I am, with great regard, Dear Sir,
"Most faithfully yours."

On his first interview with Colonel Wesley at his Levee, Sir J. Shore evinced his characteristic prompt discernment of character. Turning quickly round to his aides-de-camp, as the young soldier retired, he remarked, with prophetic sagacity, "If Colonel Wesley should ever have the opportunity of distinguishing himself, he will do it, and greatly." One of those to whom these expressions were addressed did not return to England till the Duke of Wellington had reached the zenith of his Peninsular reputation, when he reminded Lord Teignmouth of the complete verification of his prediction*.

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* Two instances, among many others, of Lord Teignmouth's almost intuitive perception of character occur to the recollection of the writer of this Memoir. On one occasion, having joined in play with a boy whom his father had brought to Lord Teignmouth's house, he was suddenly forbidden by the latter associating with him: Lord Teignmouth accompanying the prohibition with the remark, that there was something in his countenance indicating that he would not come to a good end. The individual in question was young Polidori, the future companion of Byron; and the prediction, uttered so emphatically that it could not be forgotten,

During the latter part of Sir John Shore's administration, Colonel Wesley was a frequent guest at his table. The peculiar characteristic of his great mind, which the Governor-General especially remarked, and often in after-life adverted to with admiration and astonishment, was an union of strong sense and boyish playfulness which he had never seen exemplified in any other individual.

On the object of the expedition, to the direction of which he was destined, Colonel Wesley furnished

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forgotten, was but too accurately fulfilled. It is well known that the unfortunate youth terminated a licentious career by suicide.

Lord Teignmouth was equally happy in another and very different prognostication. The author was sitting by his side, under the Gallery of the House of Commons, when Sir Robert (then Mr.) Peel delivered one of his earliest speeches, from one of the upper Ministerial benches. Lord Teignmouth, having listened to him with much attention, observed instantly, as Mr. Peel sat down, "If that young man should live, I should not be surprised to see him filling some of the first situations in the country."

Other proofs might be given of his natural discernment having been matured to the degree of which the Poet speaks—

> "When old experience doth attain
> To something like prophetic strain."

In his latter days, it was rarely, and only when either off his guard or when circumstances rendered it necessary, that he would utter disparaging expressions. And he would frequently advert to the exemplary charity of Mr. Wilberforce, in never broaching an opinion unfavourable to any one's character, without qualifying his censure by a "*but*" of commendation.

a spirited plan, and corresponded with the Governor-General*. The following Letters refer to an Order, inadvertently issued, that the soldiers, when embarked, should be placed under the direction of the officers commanding the ships, in the event of their engaging the French frigates cruising the Eastern Seas†.

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* See Appendix IV.

† A Letter on the subject of the above Correspondence cannot fail to be perused with interest, as indicating that an eventful interval of nearly forty years had not erased from the mind of the Illustrious Writer the recollection of attention which he had received in his younger days.

"DUKE OF WELLINGTON TO LORD TEIGNMOUTH.

"MY LORD— "London, June 25, 1836.

"I have had the honour of receiving your Lordship's Letter. I will look among my papers for any Letters that I may have from the late Lord Teignmouth.

"Although his Lordship received and always treated me with great kindness and condescension, I was not in any official situation to occasion any correspondence with him. I do not recollect having had such a one; but I will look among my papers; and if I should find any Letters from his Lordship, you shall have them.

"I have the honour to be,

"My Lord,

"Your Lordship's most obedient humble servant,

"WELLINGTON."

"HON. COLONEL WESLEY TO SIR JOHN SHORE.

"SIR— "Heroine, Aug. 6, 1797.

"I have just received an Order from Major-General St. Leger, stating, that, 'in case of coming to action, the troops will be under the command of the captains of the ships.' In the different conversations you did me the honour to hold with me upon this subject, I uniformly stated it to be my determination that every assistance should be given to work and fight the ships. I told you that the directions of the captains of the Indiamen, upon those occasions, would of course be obeyed: and I communicated to you an extract of my instructions to the officers commanding the troops on board the different ships upon this subject, which you thought fully sufficient. Confiding, then, that there would be no order from Superior Authority to put me, or the regiment I have the honour to command, in any situation under the command of the captains of the Indiamen (however I or every other officer might think it necessary that we and the men should obey their orders upon certain occasions), I embarked with the regiment;—a step which, however attached I may be to the King's Service, I would sooner have quitted it than have taken, had I known that matter was to be arranged as I find it is.

"In addition to the objections I have to be under the command of persons who have thrown so many difficulties in the way of the Service; and who are now throwing so many, that I shall probably be obliged to write an official complaint of some of them before the fleet sails—and in addition to the difficulties of *obliging* officers (particularly field-officers) to put themselves under the command of captains of Indiamen, or of taking the soldiers from under the orders of their own officers—there is this legal objection to the measure; viz. that the captains of the Indiamen have no legal method of enforcing obedience to their orders from their own seamen, much less will they have it of enforcing obedience from soldiers; and therefore if it does not suit the pleasure of the men, they will not obey them.

"In my opinion, it would have been better to have left the matter where I placed it; and have trusted to the good sense and honour of the officers, and to the spirit of the soldiers, that every assistance would be given when the occasion might require it: and in that case, as they would not have felt themselves or their Service disgraced, their exertions would have been greater, and their assistance more cordial than it can be expected to be under the existing circumstances.

"However, Sir, uncomfortable as I feel it embarking under such circumstances, I shall do every thing in my power, and shall make those under me do every thing in their power, to forward the Service: and I hope that you will find that those whose ambitious claims have been complied with will do the same.

"I have the honour to be, Sir,

"Your most obedient humble servant,

"A. WESLEY."

"SIR JOHN SHORE TO THE HON. COLONEL WESLEY.

"DEAR SIR— "Aug. 8, 1797.

"I return a Private Answer to your Letter of the 5th; which, from the superscription, I conclude to be Official.

"Nothing could have given me greater concern than the tenour of your Letter; as I am sorry to confess that I have inadvertently been the occasion of the Order issued by General St. Leger, which is conformable to the terms of the instructions given to him and Captain Murray. By what inadvertence it escaped me, I am at a loss to conceive; but I am anxious to impress you with a conviction that inadvertence alone could have occasioned, on my part, any instructions hurtful to your feelings, or to those of the gentlemen under your command.

"No man can be more impressed than I am with a sense of the zeal, alacrity, and spirit shewn by yourself, and the officers and men of your regiment;

and I had flattered myself with the pleasing expectation of having, as far as depended upon me, done every thing in my power to render the Service agreeable to you.

"I repeat my regret at an occurrence which appears to have afforded you any uneasiness; and add my hope that the Orders despatched yesterday, in revocation of that part of the instructions which has been the occasion of it, will reach the ships before their departure.

"I am, Dear Sir,
"Your very sincere and obedient
humble servant."

The further progress of the expedition was judiciously arrested at Penang by Lord Hobart; to whom, as more immediately capable of forming an opinion of Tippoo's designs, the discretionary power of recalling it had been entrusted.

"TO CHARLES GRANT, ESQ.

"MY DEAR SIR— "Bengal, Sept. 13, 1797.

. . . .

"The limits of our political relations are widely extended of late years; and the character and designs of the Rulers of Persia and Teheran now come within the scope of our deliberations. Our correspondence extends from Bagdad to Borneo, and includes all the interjacent powers. The power of Britain in the East is a Colossus formed of very unassimilating materials, and standing upon a basis of doubtful solidity. It will resist many shocks: but the repetition of them weakens it; and I think it more likely to crumble to pieces, than to fall by an earthquake. If it please God to conduct me safe and in health to England, I shall devote some hours on my voyage to reflections which may be of use, in preventing future ruin.

"But the duration of this Political statue may be shortened by events at home: and although I am not disposed to be gloomy in anticipating evils, in cases where my personal reputation is not concerned, I cannot see the awful situation of affairs in Europe without the most serious reflections. Great Britain is now left without an ally to carry on a war with an inveterate enemy; and the most unexpected success cannot prove an adequate compensation for the evils of it. I do not mean, by this reflection, to blame our Ministry; for I am rather disposed to believe, that whatever their disposition might be, war was inevitable; nor am I convinced, by any arguments that I have yet had, that it was in the power of the Ministry to make a proper peace. At home, I see no alteration in manners: the national burden increases, without inducing private economy: calamity and apprehension prevail, yet the same dissipation continues. Of worldly fear there is enough;—of religious fear, too little. Reformation in the State is loudly called for, by those who are incapable of reforming themselves; as if it were possible to establish public virtue without private integrity—to compose an aggregate of probity from the materials of pollution. My only consolation is, a reliance upon Providence; who, to punish the disobedience and lessen the presumption of mankind, plunges them in miseries from which nothing but the Divine assistance can extricate them. 'When affairs are at the worst,' the homely proverb says, 'they mend:'—and I am willing to hope, that having less to settle than we had before, the difficulty of a pacification may be less.

"It is always natural for people to look at home; and on this principle I most particularly recommend that no Foreign Nations—*i.e.* neither the Dutch nor the French—be allowed National Establishments in Bengal. You know the trouble which they formerly occasioned; and we may be assured that, under the new order of things in France, it will not in future be less. But this is the least important consideration. From their Factorial Establishments in India they will derive the means of Political connection with Foreign Powers, and of carrying on perpetual intrigues for our destruction. I hope, however, before this reflection can reach you, that it will not be a subject of discussion. In judging of Indian affairs, you must ever be careful to allow for the progress of things. Bengal is as different now from what it was ten years ago, as it then was, upon comparison, with the state of things ten years before that period.

"I rejoice, rather for the sake of the public than on your own account, on finding your name in the Direction. I rejoice on my own account. In you, habit, I believe, has more influence than your own judgment; which would rather induce you to retire from a situation in which your desire of contributing to the public good must always greatly exceed your ability to establish it. Some good, however, must be the result of your efforts; and this consideration might supersede the regret that you cannot do more. I shall hardly be tempted, on my return to England, if the option were given to me, of taking part in Public Affairs. I would rather accept an office in which my personal efforts might be moderately useful, and in which I could act unfettered by the interests, views, or opposition of others; such, for instance, as the office of a Country Magistrate, or, in plain words, of a Justice of the Peace. Great and extensive benefits, personal as well as practical, would result from the conscientious discharge of the duties of this office by an able man. It is a pity, not to say disgraceful, that its real importance should be so ill understood; or, what comes to the same thing, so little attended to.

"I am your affectionate Friend."

"TO WILLIAM WILBERFORCE, ESQ.

"MY DEAR SIR— "Bengal, Sept. 13, 1797.

"It is really a pleasure to me to acknowledge the receipt of your two Letters of the 6th and 19th of January. Much of my other correspondence is half official, and half friendly. With you, it originates from one unmixed source.

"Of your kind Letter of the 6th of January, if I were to speak in the Oriental style, I should say it was 'a rose from the rose-garden of Friendship,' and with much more sincerity than is usually annexed to such compliments. Worldly honours, or worldly approbation, are really little in my estimation; but the approbation or confidence of a friend, which is the most flattering approbation, is a real gratification to me. It is still more so, to find so much correspondence between your reflections and mine. With a distracted head, and unaccommodating attention, I give many hours to the perusal of religious books, and to reflections on religious subjects; and it is not a little extraordinary that the same idea should have occurred to me which has also occurred to you. If you were with me, I could shew you many pages of my own composition in favour of Religion, which I hope some time or other to weave into a form fit for publication. But I must have the approbation of those who have studied the subject more, before I should venture—if I should ever have courage to do it—to give any book to the world in my own name. The minds of men appear to me as various as their faces; and this variety I believe to be the natural constitution of man, as well as of habit and education. The minds of the same men are no less various under different circumstances of health, situation, society, and example; and a subject will often make an impression according to the mode in which it is treated. When the foundation is established, the superstructure may be erected with less difficulty. If this reflection be just, it furnishes a good argument for new publications on religious subjects, although nothing new may be urged; and will be my excuse for the attempt.

"Amongst other volumes which I have read in this country, Butler's Sermons forms one. There are two amongst them which I have read with infinite delight—the 13th and 14th, 'On the Love of God.' You will find in it a thorough knowledge of the heart and nature of man—deep thought—

an ardent, yet rational enthusiasm—a sublimity of conception, and nervous expression. There is one idea which I had almost called angelical, which lifts the soul beyond all worldly thoughts, to a sublimity which it can hardly bear. I will quote a few words which describe it:—'In this world, it is 'only the effects of wisdom, power, and greatness 'which you discern. It is not impossible, that, 'hereafter, the qualities themselves in the Supreme 'Being may be the immediate objects of contemplation. What an object is the universe to a 'creature, if there be a creature who can comprehend its system! But it must be an infinitely 'higher exercise of the understanding, to view the 'scheme of it in that Mind which projected it, 'before its foundations were laid. And surely we 'have meaning to the words, when we speak of 'going further, and viewing not only the system 'in His mind, but the Wisdom and Intelligence 'itself, from whence it proceeded?'

"The Sermons of Butler are, however, too metaphysical for a promiscuous audience;—better adapted for the closet, than for the pulpit—to those who have aided Religion by contemplation, who are already advanced in piety, than to the generality of mankind or Christians. The conclusion of the sermon in question is wonderfully sublime.

"A recommendation of a sermon by a Governor-General!—I hope it will not be, in future, a very rare occurrence. My last was written from Lucknow; and I can only add, that

"I am, my Dear Sir,
"Your sincere," &c. &c.

"TO HUGH INGLIS, ESQ.

"MY DEAR FRIEND— "Bengal, Sept. 13, 1797.

. . . .

"Lord Hobart has certainly great vigour and energy, and I believe him to be actuated by great zeal for the public good; and with the experience which he has now acquired, I think he would discharge the functions of Governor-General very ably. With respect to myself, I am almost worn out; and shall most gladly resign my station, either to Lord Hobart, or to any other person you may think proper to appoint*. His Lordship, I learn officially, has decided upon the relinquishment of the Expedition; and although I have not his reasons for it, I have no doubt that they are solid. He had the fullest sanction of this Government for the decision, under certain limitations.

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* The appointment was at first destined to Lord Cornwallis; but eventually devolved on the Marquis Wellesley, then Earl of Mornington.

"I have now the portraits of Lord Clive, Mr. Hastings, and Lord Cornwallis, in the Government House; and if I could have procured a portrait of Mr. Carter, he should have been added to the list. If he is not so great a man as those whom I have mentioned, he is as good as the best.

"I am, my Dear Friend," &c. &c.

Previous to his return to England, Sir J. Shore was compelled to revisit Oude; and was involved in the most perplexing transaction which occurred during the whole period of his Government*. On the recent death of the Nabob, Asoph-ud-Doulah, the succession of his reputed son, Vizier Ali, to the throne was ratified by the Governor-General, on the following accounts;—the late Nabob's acknowledgment of his title; the supposed validity of such title, according to the Mahomedan law; the sanction of the late Nabob's mother; and the apparent consent of the inhabitants.

The Governor-General having subsequently received information of the universal notoriety of the spuriousness of Vizier Ali's birth, and of the desperate violence of his character, proceeded to Lucknow, for the purpose of re-examining the grounds of his former decision, and of placing the Government on a safe and satisfactory footing. His inquiries on his route, and at Lucknow, convinced him of the baselessness of Vizier Ali's pretensions. Ascertained proof of the usurper's real parentage set aside the authority of the late Nabob's recognition of his title to the succession—such recognition being valid only, according to the Mahomedan law, when the real parentage was unknown; whilst evidence of Vizier Ali's determination to throw off British influence and connection rendered his continuance on the throne incompatible with the fulfilment of the mutual engagements subsisting between the Company and Oude.

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* This brief sketch of the Oude Revolution is compiled from voluminous MS. documents, consisting of Sir John Shore's Correspondence, Minutes, Memoranda, and a Narrative of the Transactions.

The Governor-General, hearing that hostile preparations had been made on a large scale at Lucknow, by the reigning sovereign, apparently with a view to resisting his authority, advanced with a considerable military force, and, soon after his arrival in the city, took up his residence in the neighbourhood. He was immediately followed by the principal actors in the coming drama; who, alarmed at the Governor-General's resolution to quit the city, encamped around him;—Vizier Ali himself, encircled by his counsellors, a gang of miscreants whom he had raised from the dregs of the people; the two Begums, the mother and the wife of the late Nabob, the latter of whom had indignantly refused to acknowledge the usurper's title; and Almas, a Renter of Oude, whose power almost equalled that of the Nabob;—and he found himself at once entangled in complicated meshes of intrigue, which it became his duty to unravel, and to render subservient to the interests of the lawful heir, Saadut Ali, brother of the late Nabob, whose cause he had espoused. In the accomplishment of his difficult and delicate task, he derived much advantage from his accurate knowledge of the Oriental languages and of the Native character. "In Eastern Countries," observes Sir J. Shore in his Narrative, "as there is no principle, there can be no confidence. Self-interest is the sole object of all; and suspicion and distrust prevail, under the appearance and professions of the sincerest intimacy and regard."

Whilst Sir J. Shore granted to Vizier Ali, conditionally on his good behaviour, the protection he sought, he was fully aware that the reckless youth was unceasingly urged by his evil counsellors to desperate acts, and that they even contemplated his own assassination. He knew that they depended for the execution of their projects on several battalions of paid soldiery which had marched into Lucknow; and on the artillery under the command of Ibrahim Beg, a violent and fearless Musulman; and that the approach, by his directions, of Saadut Ali was likely to precipitate their measures.

The Governor-General, perceiving that the elder Begum and Almas were intriguing in favour of the succession of Mirza Jungly, a younger brother of Saadut Ali, took care to allow them to commit themselves irretrievably in opposition to the cause they had previously adopted; but he could not prevent their combining with Vizier Ali's partisans to thwart the influence of the British Government.

Sir J. Shore did not participate in the general alarm excited by the well-known ferocity of Vizier Ali's character. "It was the opinion of most," he proceeds, "that I ought to seize Vizier Ali and Almas; and it was strongly urged by General Craig, and repeated to me by the Commander-in-Chief, Sir Alured Clark, that I should be answerable for every drop of blood which should be shed in consequence of my not doing it. I apprehended no such consequences." Similar advice was vainly tendered by Tufuzzool Hossein Khan, who observed to the Governor-General, with great agitation, "This is Hindustan, not Europe; and affairs cannot be done here as in Europe." Sir J. Shore's forbearance resulted no less from a firm reliance on the measures he had adopted, than from an earnest desire of accomplishing the meditated Revolution without bloodshed, which he foresaw would ensue from one necessary consequence of the seizure of Vizier Ali—an insurrection of the soldiery; whilst he recoiled from a proceeding which he regarded treacherous towards a person to whom, though unwillingly, he had promised protection. It can scarcely however be questioned, that the evidence he possessed of Vizier Ali's hostile designs, coupled with his knowledge of the desperate violence of the usurper's character, released him from any such implied obligation.

Sir John Shore's composure—an enigma to all around him—was founded on a calm and deliberate estimation of the conflicting motives by which Vizier Ali would be actuated; and it remained unshaken, by alarming rumours, by apparent peril, and by the united remonstrance of European and Native functionaries, during a protracted period of anxiety and apprehension. His reliance on the assurances of a partisan of Vizier Ali, whom Tufuzzool Hossein Khan describes as entirely undeserving of it, is, perhaps, less explicable. His confidence, on one occasion, induced him to accept an invitation from Vizier Ali himself to breakfast, though believing it to be prompted by sanguinary intentions. He found the usurper's tent filled with armed men, ready for any violence; whilst he sat in the midst of them, attended only by some few defenceless gentlemen of his suite. Yet even in these critical circumstances he experienced no fear. He depended on the precaution he had taken of being unaccompanied by Sir Alured Clark, whom he was persuaded Vizier Ali designed to murder as well as himself; feeling assured of his own safety whilst the Commander-in-Chief was not in the power of the treacherous youth, and at hand to inflict immediate retribution.

On the eve of Saadut Ali's destined accession to the throne, Lucknow teemed with warlike preparations. The Governor-General committed the peace of the city to the charge of the elder Begum, whose influence over the turbulent elements of discord now collected within its walls he knew to be paramount: and he, moreover, enjoined her to be in readiness on the following morning to bestow the *khelat* of investiture on the rightful heir to the throne; overcoming her reluctance to accept the twofold duty, by threatening, in the event of her refusal, to entrust it to other hands. Saadut Ali, as he entered the city at the appointed time, manifested considerable alarm; and, to quiet his fears, Sir J. Shore placed him on his own elephant. As they advanced through the streets to the palace, the Governor-General amused the immense multitude assembled to witness the inaugural procession, by showering rupees amongst them; whilst he did not neglect the opportunity of inculcating on the Nabob advice respecting his future conduct. The old Begum was at her post; and Saadut Ali was enthroned with due solemnity.

"In the progress of this Revolution," continues the Narrative, "many circumstances occurred to create doubt and anxiety. The failure of the Post, the interception of my Letters, any irresolution on the part of Saadut Ali, or accident in the course of his journey to Khanpoor, might have involved me in serious embarrassments. As it was, I had a difficult task to amuse all parties, so as to prevent the discovery of my plans. The confidence which I was obliged to place in many was in no instance violated; and the declaration of my intention to place Saadut Ali on the *musnud*, after his arrival at Khanpoor, was a surprise to all who were not in my confidence. But above all, I owe unbounded gratitude to Providence, which enabled me to accomplish so great a Revolution without the loss of lives; and, contrary to the expectations of almost all who knew my plans. Assassination, contempt of the English, and the power of Vizier Ali to resist them, were the common topics of conversation amongst the desperate crew who attended the confidential hours of Vizier Ali. It was a surprise to all, that they did not succeed in instigating him to some act of desperation, with a view to avail themselves of the confusion to plunder the town. The Vakeel of Ambagee, a Mahratta Chieftain, who arrived at Lucknow on the 15th of the month, had an opportunity of learning the projects entertained by the adherents of Vizier Ali; viz. to raise a commotion, plunder the city, and retire with the spoils into the Mahratta frontier. They were heard to remark, that if a single shot were fired, it would be sufficient, and that thousands would be sacrificed. Every street in Lucknow was filled with armed men; and the accumulation of them on the 19th and 20th was observed by several Europeans. During the three successive days, from the 21st, great numbers were seen returning from the town, and passing the English camp at Budlaka Tuckera. The consequence of an armed opposition in such a town as Lucknow would have been shocking. It is computed to contain 800,000 inhabitants; and the streets are, for most part, narrow lanes and passages. Ibrahim Beg had under his charge about 300 pieces of ordnance, of which sixty or seventy were fit for immediate use: they were served by 1000 Gole andages, or native artillery-men; and the number of artillery drawn out for apparent opposition consisted of thirty pieces, so posted that they could not be seized without great slaughter. Ibrahim Beg, the Commandant, was a violent and hot-headed Mogol, regardless of any authority, fearless of his own life, and careless of the lives of others. The single accident which happened had, in all probability, no connection with the Revolution. The successful accomplishment of it was to me a relief from more anxiety than I ever before experienced."

On his elevation to the throne, Saadut Ali consented, by treaty, to an increase of the subsidy paid by Oude for the stipulated protection of the Company, and the cession of the important fortress of Allahabad. Had the Governor-General been actuated more by personal than by patriotic considerations, he might, as he states, by compromising these advantages, have added half-a-million sterling to his fortune.

Sir John Shore, on his return to Calcutta, visited the dethroned Nabob at Benares: nor did he quit that city without suggesting, in a Minute, adequate precautions against the probable paroxysms of Vizier Ali's fury; recommending his removal from Benares to some place within the provinces of the Company. "At present," he observes in this document, with prophetic sagacity, "in the indulgence of youthful dissipation, he (Vizier Ali) finds every gratification which he can desire; but we are not to forget that he has exhibited marks, not only of a depraved and vicious character, but of an ambitious and fearless disposition, capable of any desperation." The Governor-General, also, especially warned Mr. Cherry, the Resident, to whose charge Vizier Ali was committed, of the danger to which his duty would expose him. But his prudential suggestions were unfortunately not sufficiently heeded. Lord Wellesley, though so fully aware of his prisoner's character, that, in reading the official reports of the proceedings at Lucknow, he declared that his predecessor's escape had been miraculous, issued indeed an order for the removal of Vizier Ali from Benares; but not till after the discovery of an extensive conspiracy, of which the usurper himself was the main-spring. The result is well known: Vizier Ali's designs were precipitated: offering himself a treacherous guest to the unsuspecting Resident, he commenced at his breakfast-table the murderous proceedings, of which as many of the Europeans at Benares as he could lay hands upon became victims, and fled beyond the British frontier. He was afterwards taken, and died in rigorous confinement in Fortwilliam. One of the few Civilians who effected their escape, owed his safety, under Providence, to Sir J. Shore's instrumentality. He was a nephew of Lady Shore; and having joined the Company's Service shortly before the Oude Revolution, accompanied the Governor-General to

Lucknow. The latter, finding him unable to ride, presented him a horse, and became his instructor in his daily rides in the neighbourhood of that city. To this circumstance Mr. Hubert Cornish attributed his exemption from the fate of his fellow-countrymen; for hearing an alarm, and perceiving the approach of Vizier Ali and his murderous followers, he mounted his horse and fled; and thus survived, to communicate to his relative and unconscious preserver a detailed and interesting narrative of the lamentable transaction.

The Governor-General's decision on the Oude Succession was universally approved by the British inhabitants of India, and by the Native Powers. The general language respecting it at Lucknow, and throughout Hindostan, so far as it could be ascertained, was, that "the right had come to the rightful." It was ratified at the India House, as well as by the Ministers of the Crown, Mr. Pitt and Mr. Dundas. The judgment of the Directors of the East-India Company is thus emphatically recorded, in their Political Letter, May 15, 1798:—

"Having taken this general view of the subject, with a minute attention, however, to all the Papers and proceedings, we are, upon the whole, decidedly of opinion that the late Governor-General, Lord Teignmouth, in a most arduous situation, and under circumstances of much delicacy and embarrassment, conducted himself with great temper, ability, and firmness; so that he finished a long career of faithful services, by planning and carrying into execution an arrangement, which not only redounds highly to his honour, but which will also operate to the reciprocal advantage of the Company and the Nabob Vizier."

Lord Wellesley pronounced the evidence, by which Sir John Shore's judgment had been guided, as incontrovertible.*

But the secret spring of the composure exhibited by the Governor-General, in the trying circumstances just narrated, and under the consciousness that his decision, whatever it might be, would be open to animadversion, is disclosed in a passage in his "Selections from a Journal," written several years afterwards, on its being intimated to him that his proceedings at Oude were threatened with Parliamentary impeachment.

"Under the circumstances alluded to, I have frequently retired to a private room, praying to God to direct my judgment, in forming a decision on the alternative which was before me without bias or partiality. The recollection of this afforded a consolation to me, which made me indifferent to censure or accusation. Some time after my arrival in England, General Kirkpatrick, the father of a Colonel Kirkpatrick whom I had nominated in Bengal to the Residency with the Nizam, called on me; and informed me that Dr. Laurence, a Member of Parliament, and the intimate friend of Mr. Burke, intended to impeach me in the House of Commons, for my transactions at Lucknow; and advised me to prepare my friends to support me. Expressing my obligations to him for his information, I told him that my reasons for my conduct were recorded; and if *they* would not bear me out, I had nothing more to urge in my defence. But my real consolation arose from the recollection of my prayer to God for assistance and direction, under the consciousness that I had not been influenced by any interested or improper motive in the dispossession of Vizier Ali and the appointment of Saadut Ali: and I can safely and conscientiously say, that I never felt any alarm or uneasiness under the apprehension of the threatened impeachment."

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* Despatches, I. 439. (See Appendix V.)

An incident which occurred about the time now referred to, must not be overlooked, as affording a proof of the occasional dependence of the fate of great men on trifling causes. The Governor-General requiring the assistance of a skilful amanuensis in the transaction of the important business in which he was about to engage, applied, when at Benares, to General ———, to point out to him a competent individual. The General mentioned a young Civilian, the Hon. Mountstuart Elphinstone, who had recently commenced his career contemporaneously with a relative who, like himself*, was destined to attain the highest distinction in the Service—Mr. Adam, afterwards Governor-General. The following Letter from Mr. Dundas to Sir J. Shore indicates the early promise which these young men had given of future eminence:—

"RIGHT HON. H. DUNDAS TO SIR JOHN SHORE.

"DEAR SIR— "London, June 13, 1795.

"This will be delivered to you by two young friends of mine. One of them is the son of the late Lord Elphinstone: the other, the son of Mr. Adam, a very old friend of mine. I beg to recommend them to your particular kindness and protection. I have exceeding good accounts of both of them, such as leave me no room to doubt that they will do credit to the interest I take in them. I hope you are as well in point of health as I wish you, and that you will not too soon leave the situation you are in.

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* Mr. Elphinstone received the offer of the Governor-Generalship. To his declining it may be probably ascribed the valuable result of his Oriental Researches—his Memorial of those successive Dynasties, amidst the ruins of which the foundation of the Anglo-Indian Empire was laid.

"I remain, with sincere regard, My dear Sir,

"Yours very faithfully."

The Governor-General, previous to availing himself of General ———'s recommendation, requested to see a specimen of Mr. Elphinstone's hand-writing, but, unfortunately, found it not sufficiently legible. Mr. Elphinstone, consequently, did not accompany Sir J. Shore to Lucknow; and, to borrow his own emphatic language on narrating this anecdote to the writer of these pages, "a bad hand marred his fortunes in Bengal."

The following Extracts are from Letters written by the Governor-General to Lady Shore, during his absence from Calcutta.

"TO LADY SHORE.

"**Christmas Day, 1797.**

"I have neither performed my duty to you nor to my God, as I ought to have done this day: yet exclusively of my morning supplications, I prayed to Him for blessings upon us all, and to give us a true sense of His mercies, in sending His Son into the world for our instruction, and with the joyful tidings of salvation and immortality. I prayed to Him for remission of my sins, and for a more lively sense of His mercies and my own demerits; and to strengthen my own reliance upon Him; and for resignation under all His dispensations."

. . . .

"January 17, 1798.

. . . .

"My plans are fast drawing to a conclusion; and to-morrow or next day the *dénouement* takes place, supposing no accident. I am playing, as the gamesters say, *le gros jeu*, and with the same kind of sensation as a man who apprehends losing his all. Yet my conviction that I am right, hourly remains; and as I have prayed to God, daily, to direct my ways—and to correct me if I err, to strengthen me if I am right—I trust in Him, and feel more repose than might be expected from the situation in which I am. All, however, will be well, and honourably and successfully settled, I trust.

. . . .

"January 22, 1798.

. . . .

"Vizier Ali is fallen: his servants forsake him: and I shew him an attention which I never did before. But I would not, My dear wife, for any temptations of personal interest, go through such scenes as I have been engaged in. Nothing but my reliance upon Providence supported me. Hours, days, and nights of anxious doubt and expectation have I gone through. I have the general approbation of my conduct, in effecting the wonderful work so well. Far from me be the arrogance of success! 'O God, let Thy grace make me feel Thy mercies and goodness, in directing me! To Thee alone be honour and praise: from me, humility and thanksgivings!'

"Such is the brief detail of the events in which I have been engaged. All about me were embarrassed, and dreaded the dangers of my determination. I took the path of honour and justice, and, under God, all is well.

"God bless you and my dear children, ever dear and blessed babes! My mind has been worked up to a pitch beyond its strength, but my body has continued vigorous. God again be praised!—I must not suffer relaxation to supervene. Having settled all with Saadut Ali before I placed him on the *musnud*, I have now no difficult negociation to go through."

At Lucknow, Sir J. Shore received a Letter from Mr. Dundas, couched in kind and flattering terms, announcing to him His Majesty's recognition of his services, by elevating him to the Irish Peerage. Mr. Dundas had recommended to the King the option of a Peerage, or of the Order of the Bath. The following Letter refers to the subject.

"HUGH INGLIS, ESQ. TO LORD TEIGNMOUTH.

"MY DEAR FRIEND— "London, November 4, 1797.

"Though this may not meet you in India, I am still willing to take the chance of its reaching you. We have had some difficulty about your title. His Majesty, from motives kind to you, objected to 'Shore.' We next thought 'Heathcote'*, but the Duke of Portland started objections to that, on account of two families of that name who might consider themselves entitled to look to the Peerage. It was left to your friends to choose one that was not already occupied; and, in consequence, Sir Francis Baring, Mr. Bensley, and myself, fixed upon Teignmouth. We selected this title as a good sounding one, and a place that you must naturally have a regard for. I trust, My friend, you will approve of what we have done.—My love to Lady Teignmouth and the Little-ones; and believe me.

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* Heathcote, or Harcourt, Lord Teignmouth's patrimonial property in Derbyshire.

"Yours affectionately,
"HUGH INGLIS."

Sir J. Shore acknowledges the honour conferred upon him, in a Letter to Mr. Pitt.

"TO THE RIGHT HON. WILLIAM PITT.

"Sir— "Lucknow, Jan. 30, 1798.

"I have the honour to receive a Letter from Mr. Dundas, announcing the gracious intention of His Majesty, at his request, and with your concurrence, to express his royal approbation of my services, by conferring upon me an Irish Peerage, or the Order of the Bath. It has been my anxious wish and endeavour to merit public approbation, by a conscientious discharge of my public duty: and wherever I may have failed in my efforts to promote the public service, the reproach may fall on my want of ability, but cannot, I trust, affect my zeal or integrity. Whilst I recollect I owe my present situation to the honour of your solicitation, I cannot but feel a peculiar gratification at your approbation of my conduct, nor omit my acknowledgments for the very distinguished manner in which you have been pleased to express it.

"I have the honour to be, Sir,
"With great respect,
"Your most obedient humble Servant."

A circumstance connected with Sir J. Shore's elevation to the Peerage reflects so much honour on an amiable and much-respected Nobleman, that it cannot be passed over in silence. On hearing of the choice of the title, the late Lord Clifford of Chudleigh immediately offered to Sir J. Shore, who was a perfect stranger to him, the option of purchasing the Manor of Teignmouth, though a valuable portion of his own demesne.

Sir J. Shore acquired at Lucknow intimation of the appointment of the Earl of Mornington as his successor in the Government.

"EARL OF MORNINGTON TO SIR JOHN SHORE.

"SIR— "Park Lane, August 18, 1797.

"Although I have never been so fortunate as to have had the honour of a personal communication with you, my official situation has furnished me with a sufficient knowledge of your disposition, to assure me that you will readily excuse an intrusion proceeding from a desire to do justice to the Public Service.

"It has been intimated to me, that I am destined to undertake the arduous charge of the Government of Bengal, at the expiration of your Administration. Your distinguished character, and the acknowledged prudence, firmness, and integrity of your system of public measures, render it an object of the utmost importance to your successor that he should be introduced to his office with the most powerful aid of your experience, and with the credit which must accompany your countenance and support.

"The object of this Letter is, therefore, with the most sincere sentiments of personal esteem and respect, to solicit the great advantage of an unreserved communication with you on every point relating to the affairs of the general government of India, if I should hereafter be appointed to succeed you in that station, and if I should have the pleasure of meeting you in Calcutta. Your zeal for the Public Service, and your anxiety for the prosperity of a country in which you have justly acquired the most unblemished reputation, will dispose you to strengthen the hands of your successor by your advice and confidence, provided you shall perceive that he intends to follow your example, and to make the public good the constant rule of his actions and the real object of his views. I cannot expect, and I do not desire, your assistance on any other conditions. I wish you to regulate the measure of your confidence in me by what you shall learn from your friends in this country; or observe yourself—if I should arrive in Bengal—to be the true scope of my intentions.

"Having already expressed my persuasion that you will impute the liberty of this intrusion to motives which your regard of the public interests will incline you not to disapprove, I will not trouble you with any further apology for this Letter; but request you to accept again the assurance of the sentiments of sincere respect and esteem, with which

"I have the honour to be,
"Sir,
"Your most obedient and humble Servant."

"TO THE EARL OF MORNINGTON.

"MY LORD— "Lucknow, Jan. 28, 1798.

"I had, yesterday, the honour of your Lordship's Letter of the 18th of August, by an overland despatch; and in the possibility that your arrival in Bengal may precede my return to the Presidency, I despatch this to offer to your Lordship my most cordial congratulations upon your arrival, and to assure you of the sincerest disposition on my part to merit your esteem and confidence, by affording your Administration every assistance in my power. Happy shall I be to resign the government to your Lordship. The close of my Administration threatened a serious political storm: the danger is, I trust, past, and a foundation laid for political security, honour, and reputation in this country. Much yet remains to be done; and that I shall endeavour to effect before your Lordship's arrival in this country. The Official Papers will make you acquainted with the transactions of affairs here.

"I cannot conclude without expressing my obligations to your Lordship for the very obliging terms in which you have mentioned your sense of my services. My Administration will furnish an instance of what may be done by zeal, assiduity, and moderate talents. Your approbation, and that of my superiors, upon my endeavours are no less honourable than gratifying to me.

"With the highest respect and esteem, and good wishes for your Lordship,

"I have the honour to be," &c. &c.

Lord Teignmouth returned to Calcutta on the 2d; and sailed for England, with Lady Teignmouth and his family, now consisting of a son and two daughters, on the 7th of March.

The British Inhabitants of Calcutta addressed the Governor-General on the approaching termination of his long-continued and arduous services, in the following affectionate and eulogistic terms:—

"HONOURED SIR—

"We, the British Inhabitants of Calcutta, notwithstanding that you are shortly about to relinquish the important station which you have long held so much to your own honour and to the advantage of the Nation, cannot suffer you to depart without expressing our high respect for your character; and our sincere concern for the loss of a Governor, who, aided by the lights of a superior understanding, and a long experience of the affairs of this country, has made justice, moderation, and an inflexible integrity, the invariable guides of his conduct. We request, Hon. Sir, that you will accept our earnest wishes for your complete restoration to health, and for the long enjoyment of domestic happiness; which you are no less calculated to promote by your private virtues, than you are the interests of your Country by your talents and qualifications for public life.

"We have the honour to be, with the highest respect and esteem,

"Honoured Sir,
"Your most obedient and faithful Servants."

On the morning of his embarkation, Lord Teignmouth addressed a voluminous Letter to his successor, Lord Mornington; stating the rules he had prescribed to himself in his official conduct, and the principles which had guided his Administration; detailing the qualifications of the Functionaries in the various departments of Government; reviewing the more important transactions in which he had been engaged, and the existing political relations of the British Power in India. A portion of this important document has been published, in a volume of Lord Wellesley's Despatches.

After adverting to his transactions at Oude, Lord Teignmouth proceeds:—

"The power of the British Nation in India is most respectable; and that, as well as their political reputation, is most generally respected. It has ever been my anxious endeavour to promote it, by a steady adherence to every engagement, by the sincerity of my public conduct, and by an attention to avoid any interference or measure which could excite jealousy or disgust. The political forbearance of the Company has not failed to make a sensible impression on the Mahrattas, Nizam, and others; of which, if time admitted, I could mention some striking and important instances; but it is not, in the nature of things, to be expected that we can ever have all the credit which our conduct deserves, with those who act upon different principles, and who limit their forbearance by the extent of their power. Such is the case with every Asiatic Prince; and the actual power of the Company is their only solid security, whilst it is, however, strongly supported by their political reputation.

"The internal administration of this country is now established upon solid principles, the operation of which will gradually produce the most beneficial effects. The line of discrimination between the Legislative, Judicial, and Ministerial functions of the Government, which were formerly confounded, has been marked with precision, and cannot be infringed without a perversion of the fundamental principle of all the Regulations. In an adherence to this principle, the Natives see their own security, notwithstanding occasional attempts of individuals to procure a relaxation of it in their own favour*.

. . . .

"Your Lordship will, with great pleasure, observe great zeal, assiduity, and ability in the Officers under your Administration. It has ever been my practice to conduct all official business through the regular official channels only, to admit the Heads of offices to me whenever they wished to obtain my advice or assistance, and to consult them on the business under their immediate superintendence. The despatch of business was by this mode much facilitated; and I have a pleasure in remarking, that I always found the zeal of the Officers of Government proportioned to the confidence which I reposed in them. But nothing was ever done by my personal sanction which was not committed to record; and although I often found utility in corresponding privately with the Residents at the Foreign Courts, my public instructions to them prescribed the only rules for their conduct.

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* Some of the errors arising from the hasty introduction of the Permanent Settlement had been modified and corrected.

"The judgment of the Governor-General must decide on all points, and his controul must never be relinquished. But I have never hesitated to assist my judgment with the opinions of those who were competent to give that assistance: and whatever the merit or success of my Administration may be, my acknowledgments for them are due in some measure to those who have zealously served me. The details of this Government are so minute, that the business could never be executed by any Governor-General without the zealous assistance of the Officers immediately under him.

"Your Lordship will find the Army in a state of perfect subordination; and, from personal observation of that part of it which is in Oude, I have infinite satisfaction in remarking, that the corps were all complete, and the discipline correct, beyond what I ever knew for many years. Sir James Craig, who commands at the upper stations, is an officer of the first merit and abilities; but in this it may be proper to refer your Lordship to the sentiments of the Commander-in-Chief.

. . . .

"In general, I may venture to assure your Lordship that you will find as great a portion of integrity, zeal, and assiduity in the Officers of this Government as in any part of the world. It would, however, be absurd to assert that these qualifications are equal or universal; and your experience will lead to a knowledge of the exceptions, whereever they exist.

"The line of discrimination between the powers of the Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief is clearly drawn. Some discussion took place between Sir R. Abercrombie and myself upon this subject, which contributed to fix that discrimination. Memoranda on the subject are left with Mr. Barlow.

"It is wholly out of my power at present to enter into any political disquisitions; and the necessity is in great measure superseded by my recorded sentiments, which the Secretary, whenever your Lordship may require them, can supply: and I do not foresee any question of a political nature which has not been discussed; although the ascendancy gained by Sindiah in the Mahratta State, or the death of the Nizam, may occasion very material alteration in the political situation of affairs, and political relations of the Company. The line of non-interference is so precisely delineated by Statute, that it leaves little to the discretion of this Government; and my experience fully confirms the wisdom of the Legislative Restrictions, which have had a beneficial operation beyond the speculations of those who planned them.

"The ambition of Sindiah appears unbounded; and in prosecuting the dictates of it, he has equally appealed to treachery and violence. His power is, in fact, a military usurpation; which, however irresistible it is at present, may be shaken or subverted by the same treachery and ambition in those by whose assistance it has been established. The Mahratta Chieftain who commands the army of Sindiah in Hindostan, Ambajee, is not without apprehension of his master; and he made some indirect overtures to me, for an eventual union with the Company, against the apprehended violence of his master. The Rajah of Berar submits to the usurpations of Sindiah from inability to resist them only; and the number of Mahratta Chieftains who have been degraded or ill-treated by him would probably avail themselves of any fair opportunity for gratifying their resentment, or to re-establish themselves. It will require no common abilities in Sindiah to render his present power solid and permanent, and any severe misfortune to him would probably be succeeded by convulsions which might shake his power in Hindostan to its foundation. The Rajahs of Jeypoor and Joudpoor, and many others, would probably seize the opportunity of shaking off the Mahratta yoke: and if Sindiah should ever provoke a contest with the Company, much advantage, I am convinced, might be obtained from their assistance.

"The power of the Nizam, as well as his health, is rapidly on the decline; and his Minister, Azim-ul-Omrah, has long pressed a closer union with the Company. Although I foresee great embarrassments, and the possibility of serious evils from the subversion of the power of the Nizam, I see still greater in an union which would impose upon us the prevention of it. This is the result of much deliberation on this important subject.

"Tippoo will certainly avail himself of any fresh opportunity to re-establish the power and reputation which he lost in his former contest with us.

"Against the possible dangers arising out of these speculations, I know no precaution but that which an attention to the state of our army and finances can supply: and with this, I fear little prospective danger, unless the French should interfere, with a very powerful European force.

Whether Zemaun Shah will ever invade Hindostan is a matter of doubtful speculation, although I give him credit for the determination. If we were assured of no hostile intention on his part towards us or our Allies, the event might perhaps operate to the advantage of our interests, by diminishing or destroying the Mahratta influence in Hindostan. Under the uncertainty attending his designs and the possible dangers arising from his approach towards the frontier of Oude, the question of a defensive union with the Mahrattas occurred. Without pretending to decide upon it, I am more inclined to rely upon our own strength than enter into any union with the Mahrattas to oppose Zemaun Shah, which might carry our arms beyond the dominions of the Nabob Vizier."

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Lord Teignmouth's rigid observance of the Statutory restrictions, in his policy towards the Native States, has been arraigned by the advocates of a more aggressive system. It resulted, as it appears both from his declarations and his acts, not from passive submission to evils and dangers which he might have averted by a more independent course, but from a steadfast dependence on the supremacy of British power, no less than from an accurate knowledge of the character, motives, and designs of the Native Princes; and a reliance, in the event of war, not on their forbearance or effectual aid, but on their collective weakness, produced by their jarring interests and mutual animosities.

Of the soundness of his principles, and of the prospective wisdom which guided his conduct, the surest criterion is supplied by the result, whether as indicated by the security and reputation of the Empire during his government, or by the accuracy of his prognostications respecting subsequent events.

In reference to the state of India at the close of his Administration, his successor observes, three months after his accession, that he perceives no circumstance, either in the present disposition or in the actual strength and condition of the Native Powers, which should afford room to apprehend the approach of hostilities from any quarter*. And in the latter part of the year following, when reviewing the events of the war with Tippoo, he declares that his success had been promoted by "the favourable disposition produced in the minds of the Native Princes by the virtues and successes of Lord

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* Marquis Wellesley's Despatches, I. 56.

Cornwallis, confirmed by the prudence, integrity, and honour of his immediate predecessor*."

Did subsequent events disclose dangers which Lord Teignmouth had not foreseen or calculated upon?

The principal source of anxiety to the British power arose from Tippoo's hostility. This implacable foe, Lord Teignmouth predicted, would be unable to secure the co-operation of the Native States, jealous and fearful of his ascendency; and would not provoke British vengeance without French assistance, from which he would be debarred

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* Reply to the Address of the British Inhabitants of Calcutta, Sept. 1799.

Whilst these pages are committing to the Press, a Letter from Lord Wellesley has been read in the Court of Proprietors by Mr. Montgomery Martin, and has appeared in the public Papers, stating opinions at variance with the above declarations: and they are grounded on information of which the Noble writer was in possession when these declarations were recorded; because he received it from Colonel Kirkpatrick, at the Cape, on his way to India. The following are the passages alluded to:—

Lord Wellesley alludes to Colonel Kirkpatrick—"who (Colonel Kirkpatrick) prepared me, by his knowledge of the real state of the Native Powers and of our military situations, for what I was to encounter; and how vain and idle was Cornwallis's reliance on the good faith of Tippoo, and on the strength to be derived from the Mahrattas and the Nizam, both being under the influenec of France, with a French army ruling the State of Hyderabad, in the Dekkan and Hindostan, Delhi and Agra, &c. I had not been a fortnight at Calcutta, when I received the account of Tippoo's by the British naval superiority. In conformity to this opinion, Tippoo strove in vain to gain the Peshwah and the Nizam to his cause [†]. His absurd application to the French, the result of the disappointment of his hopes in all other quarters, which only provoked their ridicule, proved how exclusively he had depended on French assistance; for it was not till after he had heard of the British military movements in the Carnatic that he began to increase his army, and to repair the fortifications of Seringapatam [‡]. Disaffection to himself, and a desire of British protection, pervaded his domi-

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Tippoo's treachery with the French and all the Native Powers; and also with the Affghan Power, then in the hands of Zemaun Shah.

" 'The present condition of our Indian Empire is certainly not so perilous as it was at that crisis: treachery and bad faith on the part of our enemies and Native Allies, combined with weakness and imbecility in our own councils, had exposed us to the greatest danger on all sides, without any adequate means of meeting it.' "

The discrepancy of this statement with the above declarations can be accounted for only by the supposition that the venerable Statesman was influenced rather by recent exaggerated representations of the dangers he had found on acceding to the Indian Government than by his own unbiassed recollection. Neither the Letters from Colonel Kirkpatrick to Lord Teignmouth, to the period of his embarkation for the Cape, where Lord Wellesley met him; nor Lord Wellesley's own inferences from the information communicated by him, as recorded in the published Despatches; warranted such a view of the state of affairs: and subsequent history does not confirm the opinions thus expressed.

[†] Marquis Wellesley's Despatches, I. 188.

[‡] Ibid. I. 362.

nions*; whilst there was a general aversion in his councils and armies to his intimate connection with the French†: nor did he take up arms till driven to this extremity by the attack of the British. "A French army," observes Lord Wellesley, "was the only instrument by which his enterprise could be effected‡." And of this assistance, Lord Wellesley asserted that long previously he must have relinquished all hope. His power, had he not foolishly, though unintentionally, provoked hostilities, would probably have been entangled in conflicts with the Mahrattas, overthrown by domestic revolt, or have passed into the hands of some feeble and profligate successor.

The Nizam, though he failed in his application for British support, and his conduct was awhile suspicious and inconsistent, in consequence perhaps of Mahratta intrigues, became, in conformity to Lord Teignmouth's expectations, friendly to the British Government‖. And neither his original employment of French officers, nor the subsequent increase of the force under their command, was connected with any hostile disposition to the British; but, on the contrary, arose, it was believed, from a wish to induce the British to a closer connection with him[*].

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* Marquis Wellesley's Despatches (Letter to General Harris), I. 442.

† Ibid. I. 434. ‡ Ibid. II. 79.

‖ Mr. Alison hastily attributes Tippoo's mission to the Isle of France to Lord Teignmouth's refusal of assistance to the Nizam, and consequent "embittered hostility" of that Prince. To this inference may be opposed the fact of three years having intervened between the two events, and the disposition of the Nizam, as above stated.

Lord Teignmouth has been blamed for allowing the Nizam to have recourse to French officers. He certainly regarded with apprehension the system pursued both by the Nizam and Sindiah. But the danger has been much exaggerated; and depended, in Lord Teignmouth's opinion, principally on French invasion, which he deemed chimerical. He was persuaded that the practice originated solely in motives of self-defence; that the French officers would prefer the pay of the Princes who employed them, to courting Tippoo; and that the Nizam would readily, if called upon, exchange his French for British officers.

In confirmation of this conclusion, the Nizam—whose troops, under French command, were wretchedly disciplined, and equivalent, in Lord Wellesley's estimation, only to 3000 Sepoys under British officers[†]—deprived the commander, when he afterwards increased this body, of the land previously assigned to his predecessor; and resisted his influence, which, it must be acknowledged, was in Tippoo's favour. He consented, on the opening of the war, to the dismissal of the French. When Lord Wellesley's spirited measures for the suppression of their command were carried into effect, they were found prisoners of the mutinous soldiery. And in opposition to Sir J. Malcolm's opinion—that Lord Teignmouth's refusal of assistance to the Nizam had impaired the British credit—may be quoted his own statement, that the argument successfully urged by the Nizam's Prime-minister in support of the substitution of British for French officers in his service was grounded on the acknowledged regard to good faith which characterized the British Government[*].

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[*] Marquis Wellesley's Despatches, I. 4. and elsewhere.

[†] Ibid. I. 10.

The discipline of the corps under French officers in Sindiah's service was superior to that in the Nizam's; but their disposition was much more favourable to the British than to the French interests[†]. The officers were afterwards chiefly British; and their force was broken up by insubordination or desertion, when war commenced with that potentate[‡].

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[*] Mal. Hist. I. 202.

[†] Marquis Wellesley's Despatches, I. 15.

[‡] Ibid.

The Mahrattas, whom Lord Teignmouth permitted to quarrel among themselves, without interference or provocation, kept aloof during the war with Tippoo, whilst their intestine divisions precluded their uniting against the British. And it is worthy of remark, as illustrative of the success of the system Lord Teignmouth and his predecessors had adopted, that from the year 1765, when Lord Clive assumed the protection of Oude, till 1802, when Lord Wellesley became entangled with the affairs of the Mahratta States by a subsidiary treaty, they never molested the British, except in a single instance, when impelled by the proceedings of the Bombay Government, resulting from apprehension of French aggression.

In regard to the long-expected Zemaun Shah, Lord Teignmouth was persuaded that either his ambitious schemes would be frustrated by the internal dissensions of his kingdom; or the execution of them, if attempted, would throw the whole weight of the Mahratta confederacy into the British scale. The former of these contingencies was realised; whilst Lord Wellesley found the Mahrattas and Sikhs most anxious to co-operate with the British, in resisting his meditated invasion*.

Sir J. Malcolm, whilst admitting with historical fidelity, notwithstanding his speculations on the probable dangers of Lord Teignmouth's political system, the actual security of his Government, is disposed to attribute the result to accident. But the events which this distinguished author considered as merely fortuitous had been embraced as probable contingencies by Lord Teignmouth, in his comprehensive estimate of Indian politics; and he had adopted, in reference to them, the sound conclusion, that "if the result proved the uncertainty of political speculations, it at the same time suggested a reflection, that, under an adherence to established principles and the faith of treaties, the events of contingency were more likely to prove favourable than prejudicial to the interests of the Company." (Minute on the Revolutions of Poonah, Jan. 30, 1796.)

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* Marquis Wellesley's Despatches, I. 410.

Lord Teignmouth's reliance on the superiority of British power, rather than on the precarious support of the Native Sovereigns, was justified, not only by past but by subsequent experience. He had seen how inadequately the Nizam and the Mahrattas had fulfilled the conditions of the Tripartite treaty, in the first war with Tippoo. And in corroboration of his opinion, Lord Wellesley expected no effectual support from these allies till he should strike a signal blow*: in fact, he received no assistance from the Mahrattas. To the just conciliation of the spirit and to the improvement of the discipline of the army, Lord Teignmouth's efforts were successfully exerted. And how far its almost unaided strength might be depended upon, was triumphantly proved, by a long career of brilliant success.

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* Marquis Wellesley's Despatches, I. 75.

Lord Teignmouth's thorough knowledge of the Native States had convinced him that no dependence could be placed on their fidelity, unless secured by subsidiary alliances, controlling their wills and commanding their resources by means of British troops maintained at their cost. And he knew, from past and painful experience, that such engagements, whilst occasioning endless vexation and embarrassment to the British Government, resulted in the misgovernment and oppression of the subjects of the States bound by them, and the ultimate extension of British dominion. Like his predecessor, Lord Cornwallis*, he recoiled from such complicated evils; prepared only to incur them when the emergency demanded, as in the instance of his subsidiary treaty with Travancore. Here he proved the reasonableness of his apprehensions of the too-stringent tendency of the Legislative Restrictions, in the event of probable though not actual war.

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* What foundation is there for the propositions embraced in the following antithetical statement, in which Mr. Alison has contrasted the policy of Lord Cornwallis and his successor?—Speaking of Lord Wellesley, he observes: "Disregarding therefore entirely that temporising policy which the Government at home had taken such pains to impress upon its Rulers, which *Cornwallis had triumphed over only by disregarding, and Sir John Shore had obeyed only to destroy,*" Cornwallis commenced his Administration by putting a stop to negociations into which the

Nor was his opinion altered by the brilliant results of the opposite system pursued by Lord Wellesley: on the contrary, his adherence to it

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the Mahrattas had inveigled Sir J. Macpherson; whilst he allowed the Mahrattas, without interference, to overrun the Mogul's dominions: and when he revived the treaty with the Nizam, so scrupulously did he, according to Sir J. Malcolm, observe the letter, as to violate the spirit of the Act of Parliament. (Hist. I. 55.) No Governor of India has more unequivocally condemned subsidiary alliances than Lord Cornwallis.

Mr. Alison's error has arisen from his confounding the different circumstances in which the two Governors acted for difference of their principles. That Lord Teignmouth would have taken the same steps as his predecessor, if exposed to a similar emergency, may be gathered from the preceding pages. The only discrepancy between Lord Cornwallis and his successor appears to have arisen from the greater confidence entertained by the former in the forbearance and good-will of the Native Powers; arising, doubtless, from a less-experienced knowledge of the native character. Sir J. Malcolm, whose authority has weight with Mr. Alison, observes of Lord Cornwallis and his successor, that "the former acted in conformity to the views and sentiments of his superiors in England, and to the provisions of the Act of the Legislature; but this Nobleman took advantage of every occasion to satisfy the Princes and Chiefs of India that such conduct proceeded from motives of moderation, not of apprehension.

Lord

was expressly stipulated as the condition of his accepting a seat at the Board of Controul*. The difference between Lord Wellesley's policy and that of his predecessors arose, in a great measure, from altered circumstances—Tippoo's hostile proceedings; which released Lord Wellesley from Legislative restrictions, by which he acknowledges that he should otherwise have considered himself bound †.

It is however undeniable, that Lord Wellesley entertained views of Indian policy at variance with those which actuated his predecessors, and repugnant to the course prescribed by the Legislature: and in the prosecution of them, justified in his

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"Lord Teignmouth," he proceeds, "acted, throughout his Administration, with still more scrupulous conformity to the prevailing sentiments in England, and to the letter of Parliamentary restrictions. He did this from a strict sense of duty, and with the full knowledge of all the evils which were likely to result from his non-interference; and his Minutes and Letters upon the political state of India at this period exhibit (like all the other productions of this virtuous Nobleman) an intimate knowledge both of the condition of the British Government and that of the Native States." (Hist. II. 53.)

* The whole tenour of the evidence annexed to the Sixth Parliamentary Report on Indian Affairs is opposed to subsidiary treaties; excepting that of Sir J. Malcolm, and another witness, who still fully admits the evils of the system. Sir J. Malcolm's predilection for these engagements appears to have been influenced by his observation of the benefits resulting from Purneah's enlightened administration of the affairs of Mysore.

† Despatches, I. 510.

opinion by circumstances resulting from the conquest of Mysore, he incurred the very consequences which they had foreseen, and which he had not originally calculated upon. Schooled in European systems of policy, he was so strongly prepossessed in favour of defensive alliances, that he considered even the possible danger of the invasion of Zemaun Shah, which he acknowledged was thought lightly of, as affording sufficient inducement to extending them over the whole of India. And these he looked to as subservient to the fundamental principles of his policy, borrowed from Europe, but entirely inapplicable to Indian relations—the establishment of the *balance of power;* or rather, the restoration of that which he supposed to have existed in Lord Cornwallis's Tripartite treaty*: and he hoped to realise this grand scheme of policy without aggrandisement and extension of dominion. The result was precisely that which Indian experience would have suggested. To render his treaties effectual, and to fix the wavering councils, and sustain the tottering fabrics of the States whose international relations he thus proposed to adjust, Lord Wellesley was compelled to resort to subsidiary alliances. The balance of power could nowhere be found: there were no materials for its reconstruction, because it had never existed. The puppet whom Lord Wellesley had placed on the dismantled throne of Mysore, and on whom he reckoned as one of the pillars of his system, was the mere creature and dependant of the British Government. The Nizam, instead of becoming attached to the State extending to him its protection, grew restless under the conditions on which it was granted; whilst Lord Wellesley's attempt to maintain by treaty the authority of the Peshwah, so far from contributing to promote his object, roused the hostility of the entire Mahratta Confederacy, who regarded that Prince as their nominal Chief, and produced a costly and bloody war, terminating in his dethronement; whilst the consequent disorganization of the Mahratta Empire, by setting free those predatory bands whom its power had previously held in subjection, involved Lord Hastings in another extensive contest.

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* Despatches I. 17. 28. 103.—"We may observe," says Sir J. Malcolm on this subject, "that Lord Cornwallis knew too well the elements of which the Native Governments were formed ever to ground his measures upon an imaginary balance of power among States whose objects of policy and principles of rule are at complete variance with all conventional systems for the maintenance of general tranquillity." (Hist. I. 85.) And he afterwards quotes Lord Minto's opinion to the same effect.

It was on a deliberate comparison of the advantages and evils resulting from limitation or extension of territory—for he regarded such to be the real question—that the Duke of Wellington, in the very career of conquest, declared in favour of the former alternative*. Whether the ultimate results of the Administration of Lord Wellesley and his successors must not be considered preferable to the previous state of the British Power in India, is an inquiry in which the reputation of Lord Teignmouth's government is not involved. The real question, on the determination of which the public judgment on its merits should turn, appears to be this—Whether, at a period of profound peace, and with the means not only of resisting aggression but of preventing its renewal, any event which occurred during the continuance of Lord Teignmouth's Administration constituted an emergency sufficient to justify him in entering, in defiance of Legislative prohibition, on a new and hazardous political course, the consequences of which no sagacity could foresee?

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* "I am afraid we shall be reduced to the alternative of allowing Sindiah to be our neighbour upon our old frontier, or of taking this country ourselves.

"If we allow Sindiah to be our neighbour, or if the country goes to any other through his influence, we must expect worse than what has past,—thieves of all kinds, new Dhoondiahs, and probably Dhoondiah himself again. If we take the country ourselves, I do not expect much tranquillity.

"In my opinion, the extension of our territory and influence has been greater than our means. Besides, we have added to the number and description of our enemies, by depriving of employment those who heretofore found it in the service of Tippoo and of the Nizam. Wherever we spread ourselves, particularly if we aggrandize ourselves at the expense of the Mahrattas, we increase this evil. We throw out of employment, and of means of subsistence, all who have hitherto managed the revenue, commanded or served in the armies, or have plundered the country. These people become additional enemies; at the same time that, by the extension of our territory, our means of supporting the Government, and of defending ourselves, is proportionably decreased.

"Upon all questions of increase of territory, these considerations have much weight with me; and I am, in general, inclined to decide that we have enough; as much at least, if not more, than we can defend."—Despatches, I. 209.

To the principle involved in the above statement may be referred the consideration of the decision adopted by Lord Teignmouth, respecting the Poonah Succession, the affairs of the Nizam, and other transactions, on which Sir J. Malcolm and other writers have animadverted*.

With the cares and labours of his government Lord Teignmouth laid aside all thoughts respecting its reputation. His calmness on being informed of the intended Parliamentary impeachment of his

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* Mr. Alison, who has exaggerated the dangers of the pacific system, has tested it by a principle which he has had the boldness to advance and to maintain, in disregard of the Statesmen whose authority he most reveres—of Pitt, of Dundas—of Wellesley, whose recent protest against the Affghan Expedition is familiar to every reader—and of Wellington, and in opposition to the whole tenour of History, that *conquest, to induce security, must be universal.* Could a more striking confirmation of the reverse of this proposition, and one better adapted to restrain human arrogance and ambition, be found, than that supplied by the downfal of the principal hero of his own eloquent narration?

Oude transactions has been alluded to. He never read any published account of his Administration, or heeded strictures or animadversions on his measures: nor had he occasion to refer to the recorded reasons of his conduct, on which he rested exclusively his justification. During many years after his final departure from India he rarely adverted to its political affairs: nor was his attention to them recalled by his official connection with that country, when appointed a Member of the Board of Controul, as it was almost nominal; nor by his attendance, exclusively in a judicial capacity, as a Privy Counsellor on Indian Appeals.

The moral and religious welfare of the Indian population excited, indeed, his warm and active interest. His correspondence with his son in India, and literary intercourse with persons engaged in Oriental pursuits, revived his old associations, and called forth the results of his experience. And as age grew upon him, his mind naturally recurred to the more active periods of his life, and drew from his Indian recollections unfailing topics of entertaining and profitable conversation. But, nevertheless, Lord Teignmouth may be considered as having opened, on his return to his native country, a new volume of his history, the pages of which indicate but few traces of his former long, arduous, and successful career.

APPENDIX I. Vol. I.

EXTRACT FROM MR. SHORE'S MEMOIR ON THE ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE, AND COLLECTION OF THE REVENUES. (1785.)

Bengal is inhabited by various Sects, amongst which that of the Hindoos may be esteemed to make up eight-tenths of the population. They are the Aborigines of the country, and, by nature and religion, are peaceable and inoffensive.

Their national character is the compound of their character as individuals. An obstinate attachment to all their customs and prejudices, whether superstitious, ceremonious, or traditional, may be deemed a general characteristic of the Hindoos.

Their manners partake of the nature of the Government under which they have ever lived;—and this has been arbitrary or despotic. The natives are timid and servile. As individuals, they are insolent to their inferiors; to their superiors, generally speaking, submissive; though they are to them, also, guilty of insolence, where they can be so with impunity.

Speculation they seldom indulge in, in any transactions: the present hour is what they alone look to the advantage of, which they will not forego for greater certain prospects, if remote. They are as little moved by curiosity.

Individuals have little sense of honour; and the nation is wholly void of public virtue. They make not the least scruple of lying, where falsehood is attended with advantage: yet both Hindoos and Mahomedans continually speak of their credit and reputation; by which they mean little more than the appearance they make to the world. Of the two, the latter are more tenacious of this: the same man that will submit to the greatest indignities exercised upon him in private, will be clamorous at an affront put upon him before his servants or the public.

Cunning and artifice is wisdom with them: to deceive and overreach is to acquire the character of a wise man.

The greatest disgrace they can suffer, is, to lose their caste, or, as we say, to be excommunicated. This punishment is inflicted for the breach of the injunctions of their religion; or, what is the same, of the ordinances of their priests. To lie, steal, plunder, ravish, or murder, are not deemed sufficient crimes to merit expulsion from society.

With a Hindoo, all is centred in himself: his own interest is his guide; ambition is a secondary quality with him; and the love of money is the source of this passion.

The advantage they derive over Europeans is by practising those arts of meanness which an European detests. A man must be long acquainted with them before he can believe them capable of that barefaced falsehood, servile adulation, and deliberate deception, which they daily practise.

To our Government they have little attachment; yet it is certain that in general, property has been more secure, and individuals less oppressed, than under the despotism of their Nabobs. I assert this with all the confidence conviction inspires. I believe them to be as much attached to the English Government as they would be to any other; but if another dominion could establish itself, they would embrace* it with indifference. The reason of this must be sought for in the consequences of a despotic authority; and by tracing them, the characters of the natives will be easily developed and understood; in them will be seen the source of timidity, adulation, and deceit, which prevail.

It is very obvious, that within the last ten or twelve years a considerable alteration has taken place in the manners of the people. This alteration is the natural consequence of a greater degree of intimacy with Europeans than they formerly were admitted to. Those parts of our character which first drew their attention, were, bravery, clemency, and good faith. They have since found that we are not wholly destitute of weakness and vices; and that Europeans, like all others, are open to temptation. The respect they entertained for us as individuals, or as a nation, is diminished; and they now consider themselves upon a more equal footing.

The introduction of the Supreme Court of Judicature has largely contributed to the elevation of the natives, and to the depression of Europeans. This system, which was meant for the relief of the natives, has, in very few respects, answered that object: in many instances it has been a heavy grievance to them; and the natives themselves have found out the art of making the powers of the Court the means and instrument of forwarding their own views of interest and oppression, of eluding the power of the Government, and of weakening its authority, by engaging the two Tribunals in contests with each other.

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* Sic in orig.

It is in vain that we search for men of enlightened understanding, deep reasoning, and reflection, amongst the natives. The education of the Hindoos is confined to their being taught their own language. The Mahomedans are little better instructed: the acquisition of a few moral* and political maxims, which in practice they neglect, is all they know of the art of government: if exceptions can be found, they are very rare.

Such are the inhabitants of Bengal, over whom the European jurisdiction is established. Prudence may, no doubt, render it permanent; but prudence and policy alone can effect this. From a comparison of their numbers with ourselves, it must be evident, to all, that the power by which we rule is less real than ideal.

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* Sic in orig.

APPENDIX II. Vol. I.

MONODY ON THE DEATH OF AUGUSTUS CLEVLAND, ESQ.

QUIS DESIDERIO SIT PUDOR, AUT MODUS
TAM CARI CAPITIS?——

If e'er funereal trophies graced the brave,
Or cypress wreaths adorn'd a Statesman's grave,
Let Virtue consecrate the hallow'd tomb,
Where Clevland sleeps, and weep his early doom.

For many a month consumed by feverish pain,
Death had mark'd out this victim to his reign;
Drooping and wan, he seem'd a graceful flower
That yields its bloom to Winter's blighting power.
Hope still would fondly prompt, that pious prayer
Might win o'er Heaven, to pity and to spare.
Such thoughts—how vain!—our anxious minds employ'd,
When sudden fate th' illusive dream destroy'd,
And stamp'd his doom. A chilling horror spread
Through every limb; my wandering senses fled:
Cold as a rock, whence drips the melting snow,
I sat, a silent monument of woe.

No Muse attended then, to grace his urn;
Whilst kindred Nature claim'd her right to mourn.—
And mourn'd thou wast, these eyes yet dim will prove,
The heartfelt tribute paid to friendly love.

Now Sorrow, milder grown, more calm the mind,
Enjoys the grief that Time has left behind:
Yet still the tears shall stream through many an hour;
For Time in vain opposes Nature's power.
Too keen for human bliss, Remembrance wings
The shafts of anguish, and our bosoms stings;
Departed joys, like sleep-formed phantoms, rise,
Press round the heart, and prompt uncall'd-for sighs.
For whilst some former scene the mind beguiles,
Where social pleasure lived in Clevland's smiles,
Grief whispers to the soul—and shews his urn—
"No more shall Clevland's social hour return."

Ah Memory, stop! nor lead me to the vales
Where Clevland's genial spirit warm'd the gales;
Where oft with him, at noon, or eve, or dawn,
I climb'd the hills, or traced the groves and lawn;
Where hospitality with smiles received
The way-worn guest, and untold wants relieved:
Bright with the beams of joy, each eye was seen,
Smiles spoke content, and all was bliss serene.
Now death-bred Horror pours her shades around,
And dreary phantoms stalk o'er all the ground.
His mansion, once the seat of gay delight,
Now gloom-encircled, wounds the ling'ring sight.
See where the menial band forlorn repine,
And favour'd friends Grief's solemn chorus join!

Borne on the breeze, the mournful accents flow,
And Echo multiplies the notes of woe.
Sad to my soul the once-loved scenes appear,
Where Joy began, and Pleasure crown'd the year.

Yet not alone to Joy's serener shores,
Regret, through Sorrow's waves, her track explores;
Far other scenes, to memory still more dear,
With keener anguish force the gushing tear.
'Twas thine, when tortured by disease I lay,
And Sorrow's clouds o'erspread the ling'ring day;
'Twas thine, by cheering smiles and pious care,
To calm my pangs, and quell the fiend Despair.
By day, by night, thy constant friendship tried
Each soothing art, and untold wants supplied.
Perhaps the fev'rish joyless life I boast,
But for thy smiles and cares had now been lost.—
Why, when thy vital spirit, struggling fled,
Did Fate deny me to attend thy bed?
My cares, perhaps, had check'd Death's ruthless power,
Won thee to life, or soothed thy parting hour.
Some wish, perhaps, within thy bosom strove,
Sacred to friendship, or expiring love;
But Heaven forbade me to receive thy sighs,
Nor gave these hands to close my Clevland's eyes.

How teeming Fancy wrings the tortur'd breast
When the soul sinks by sorrow's weight opprest!
Perhaps a widow'd parent's woes demand,
To soothe their pangs, a filial heart and hand;
Or, whelm'd beneath Misfortune's baneful shade,
An absent brother claims fraternal aid;

Or sunk, perhaps, in death's eternal night,
Nor parent now nor brother view the light.—
Ah! trust not, Man, to life's uncertain date!
Dark are the ways, and dire the stroke of Fate:
E'en whilst the soul with bliss dilated glows,
And the full pulse with tides of rapture flows,
Death rushes in, with unresisted sway,
Bursts some dear tie, and sweeps our joys away.

Come Virtue then, the funeral wreath entwine,
A blooming wreath, to deck my Clevland's shrine,
And, whilst Affliction fondly sounds his name,
What Virtue dictates let the Muse proclaim.

'Ye, who the giddy maze of joy pursue,
'And thoughtless join Mirth's ever-smiling crew,
'Who listless hear Misfortune's feeble calls!
'Ye base-born souls, whom lust of wealth enthrals,
'Who, whilst your stores in golden prospect rise,
'Turn from the widows' tears and orphans' cries!
'Ye who for interest trace the paths of guile,
'And mould, as Flattery prompts, th' obedient smile!
'Approach the sacred tomb where Clevland lies,
'And learn the worth that calls forth Virtue's sighs.

'By Nature form'd for every social part,
'Mild were his manners, and sincere his heart;
'Benevolence in every feature shone,
'And virtuous Friendship hail'd him as her own.
'Though not to him to shine with wit 'twas given,
'Or soar with genius, eagle-plum'd, to heaven,
'Prudence with vigour, sense with temper join'd
'In true proportions, mark'd his steady mind.

‘ In honour firm, and just in all his ways,
‘ The public voice bestow’d unenvied praise;
‘ Cheerful each act of social life he proved;
‘ And died lamented, as he lived—beloved.

‘ How would his eyes with glistening pity glow
‘ When broken accents sobb’d the tale of woe!
‘ When friendship, fortune-wreckt, in silence pined,
‘ His aid, unsought, reliev’d the tortur’d mind.
‘ Daughters of Misery, who lowly bend
‘ Beneath Affliction’s yoke, lament your friend!
‘ And you, the sons of penury, proclaim,
‘ With tears unfeign’d, your loved protector’s name;
‘ Tell how his liberal heart and lavish hand
‘ Dispers’d your cares, and blest the grateful land.
‘ Cold is that bounteous heart; that hand no more
‘ Shall clothe the naked, nor relieve the poor.
‘ Ah, see! relentless Poverty return,
‘ Reclaim her victims, and insult his urn!

‘ Let History tell the deeds his wisdom plann’d,
‘ His bloodless triumphs o’er a barbarous land.
‘ Bright in his hand the sword of Justice gleam’d,
‘ But mercy from his eyes benignant beam’d—
‘ And Mercy won the cause;—the savage band
‘ Forsook their haunts, and bow’d to his command;
‘ And where the warrior’s arm in vain assail’d,
‘ His gentler skill o’er brutal force prevail’d.—
‘ As some fond sire instructs his darling son,
‘ With fostering care he led wild nature on;
‘ And now, where Rapine mark’d the blood-stain’d field,
‘ The well-till’d glebes a smiling harvest yield;

‘ Now mended morals check the lust for spoil,
‘ And rising letters prove his generous toil.
‘ The traveller secure pursues his way,
‘ Nor dreads the ruffian, ambush'd for his prey;
‘ And gaping savages, with ravish'd eyes,
‘ See their Lord's name in magic symbols rise.
‘ Humanity surveys her rights restored;
‘ And nations yield, subdued without a sword.
‘ Full many a breast, by him to pity won,
‘ Shall mourn their tutor, lord, and parent gone.

‘ Ye Kings, who drive Ambition's gore-stain'd car,
‘ And boast the conquests of destructive war,
‘ Here learn how far Benevolence exceeds
‘ War's boasted triumphs, and the warrior's deeds!
‘ By Clevland taught, oh! seek a nobler name,
‘ And let recorded mercies stamp your fame.’

The Muse has paused:—affliction now returns,
For Clevland dead, and, unextinguish'd, burns.
Oh! if thy soul, released from earthly ties,
Still feels our joys, or mixes with our sighs,
(E'en now, perhaps, thy viewless shade surveys
The pangs that Nature, true to Friendship, pays,)
The general sigh, that bursts for merit lost,
Shall sweetly soothe thy melancholy ghost.

APPENDIX III. Vol. I.

A DISCOURSE DELIVERED AT A MEETING OF THE ASIATIC SOCIETY, MAY 2, 1794,

BY SIR JOHN SHORE, BART., PRESIDENT.

Gentlemen—

If I had consulted my competency only, for the station which your choice has conferred upon me, I must without hesitation have declined the honour of being the President of this Society: and although I most cheerfully accept your invitation, with every inclination to assist, as far as my abilities extend, in promoting the laudable views of our Association, I must still retain the consciousness of those disqualifications which you have been pleased to overlook.

It was lately our boast, to possess a President whose name, talents, and character would have been honourable to any Institution:—it is now our misfortune to lament, that Sir William Jones exists but in the affections of his friends, and in the esteem, veneration, and regret of all.

I cannot, I flatter myself, offer a more grateful tribute to the Society, than by making his character the subject of my first Address to you: and if, in the delineation of it, fondness or affection for the man should appear blended with my reverence for his genius and abilities, in the sympathy of your feelings I shall find my apology.

To define with accuracy the variety, value, and extent of his literary attainments requires more learning than I pretend to possess; and I am therefore to solicit your indulgence for an imperfect sketch, rather than expect your approbation for a complete description of the talents and knowledge of your late and lamented President.

I shall begin with mentioning his wonderful capacity for the acquisition of languages, which has never been excelled. In Greek and Roman Literature, his early proficiency was the subject of admiration and applause; and knowledge of whatever nature, once obtained by him, was ever afterwards progressive. The more elegant dialects of Modern Europe, the French, the Spanish, and the Italian, he spoke and wrote with the greatest fluency and precision, and the German and Portuguese were familiar to him. At an early period of life his application to Oriental Literature commenced: he studied the Hebrew with ease and success; and many of the most learned Asiatics have the candour to avow that his knowledge of Arabic and Persian was as accurate and extensive as their own: he was also conversant in the Turkish idiom: and the Chinese had even attracted his notice, so far as to induce him to learn the radical characters of that language, with a view, perhaps, to further improvement. It was to be expected, after his arrival in India, that he would eagerly embrace the opportunity of making himself master of the Shanscrit; and the most enlightened Professors of the doctrines of Brahma confess, with pride, delight, and surprise, that his knowledge of their sacred dialect was most critically correct and profound. The Pandits who were in the habit of attending him—when I saw them after his death, at a public Durbar—could neither suppress their tears for his loss, nor find terms to express their admiration at the wonderful progress he had made in their sciences.

Before the expiration of his twenty-second year, he had completed his Commentaries on the Poetry of the Asiatics, although a considerable time afterwards elapsed before their publication: and this work, if no other monument of his labours existed, would at once furnish proofs of his consummate skill in the Oriental Dialects—of his proficiency in those of Rome and Greece—of taste and erudition far beyond his years—and of talents and application without example.

But the judgment of Sir William Jones was too discerning to consider language in any other light than as the key of Science, and he would have despised the reputation of a mere linguist. Knowledge and truth were the objects of all his studies; and his ambition was to be useful to mankind. With these views, he extended his researches to all languages, nations, and times.

Such were the motives that induced him to propose to the Government of this Country what he justly denominated a work of national utility and importance — the compilation of a copious Digest of Hindu and Mahomedan Law, from Shanscrit and Arabic originals; with an offer of his services to superintend the compilation, and with a promise to translate it. He had foreseen, previous to his departure from Europe, that without the aid of such a work the wise and benevolent intentions of the Legislature of Great Britain, in leaving, to a certain extent, the natives of these provinces in possession of their own laws, could not be completely fulfilled; and his experience, after a short residence in India, confirmed what his sagacity had anticipated — that without principles to refer to, in a language familiar to the Judges of the Courts, adjudications amongst the natives must too often be subject to an uncertain and erroneous exposition, or wilful misinterpretation, of their laws.

To the superintendence of this work, which was immediately undertaken at his suggestion, he assiduously devoted those hours which he could spare from his Professional duties. After tracing the plan of the Digest, he prescribed its arrangement and mode of execution, and selected, from the most learned Hindus and Mahomedans, fit persons for the task of compiling it. Flattered by his attention, and encouraged by his applause, the Pandits prosecuted their labours with cheerful zeal, to a satisfactory conclusion. The Moluvees have also nearly finished their portion of the work: but we must ever regret that the promised Translation, as well as the meditated Preliminary Dissertation, have been frustrated by that decree which so often intercepts the performance of human purposes.

During the course of this compilation, and as auxiliary to it, he was led to study the works of Menu, reputed by the Hindus to be the oldest and holiest of Legislators: and finding them to comprise a system of Religious and Civil Duties, and of Law in all its branches, so comprehensive and minutely exact that it might be considered as the Institutes of Hindu Law, he presented a Translation of them to the Government of Bengal. During the same period, deeming no labour excessive or superfluous that tended in any respect to promote the welfare or happiness of mankind, he gave the public an English Version of the Arabic Text of the Sirajiyyah, or Mahomedan Law of Inheritance, with a Commentary. He had already published, in England, a Translation of a Tract on the same subject, by another Mahomedan lawyer, containing, as his own words express, a lively and elegant epitome of the Law of Inheritance, according to Zaid.

To these learned and important works, so far out of the road of amusement, nothing could have engaged his application, but that desire which he ever professed, of rendering his knowledge useful to his own nation, and beneficial to the inhabitants of these provinces.

Without attending to the chronological order of their publication, I shall briefly recapitulate his other performances in Asiatic Literature, as far as my knowledge and recollection of them extend.

The vanity and petulance of Anquetil du Perron, with his illiberal reflections on some of the Learned Members of the University of Oxford, extorted from him a Letter in the French Language, which has been admired for accurate criticism, just satire, and elegant composition. A regard for the literary reputation of his country induced him to translate, from a Persian Original, into French, "The Life of Nadir Shah," that it might not be carried out of England with a reflection that no person had been found in the British Dominions capable of translating it. The Students of Persian Literature must ever be grateful to him for a Grammar of that language, in which he has shewn the possibility of combining taste and elegance with the precision of a grammarian; and every admirer of Arabic Poetry must acknowledge his obligations to him for an English Version of the Seven celebrated Poems so well known by the name of Moallakat, from the distinction to which their excellence had entitled them, of being suspended in the Temple of Mecca.

I should scarcely think it of importance to mention, that he did not disdain the office of Editor of a Shanscrit and Persian work, if it did not afford me an opportunity of adding, that the latter was published at his own expense, and was sold for the benefit of insolvent debtors. A similar application was made of the produce of the Sirajiyyah.

Of his lighter productions, the elegant amusements of his leisure hours, comprehending Hymns on the Hindu Mythology, Poems consisting chiefly of Translations from the Asiatic Languages, and the Version of Sacontala, an ancient Indian drama, it would be unbecoming to speak in a style of importance which he did not himself annex to them: they shew the activity of a vigorous mind, its fertility, its genius, and its taste. Nor shall I particularly dwell on the Discourses addressed to this Society, which we have all perused or heard; or on the other learned and interesting Dissertations which form so large and valuable a portion of the Records of our Researches. Let us lament that the spirit which dictated them is to us extinct, and that the voice to which we listened with improvement and rapture will be heard by us no more.

But I cannot pass over a Paper, which has fallen into my possession since his demise, in the hand-writing of Sir William Jones himself, entitled "DESIDERATA," as more explanatory than any thing I can say of the comprehensive views of his enlightened mind. It contains, as a perusal of it will shew, whatever is most curious, important, and attainable, in the Sciences and Histories of India, Arabia, China, and Tartary—subjects which he had already most amply discussed in the Disquisitions which he laid before the Society.

DESIDERATA.

INDIA.

I.

The Ancient Geography of India &c., from the Purános.

II.

A Botanical Description of Indian Plants, from the Cóshas &c.

III.

A Grammar of the Shanscrit Language, from Pánini &c.

IV.

A Dictionary of the Shanscrit Language, from Thirty-two Original Vocabularies and Niructi.

V.

On the Ancient Music of the Indians.

VI.

On the Medical Substances of India, and the Indian Art of Medicine.

VII.

On the Philosophy of the Ancient Indians.

VIII.

A Translation of the Véda.

IX.

On Ancient Indian Geometry, Astronomy, and Algebra.

X.

A Translation of the Purános.

XI.

Translations of the Mahábharat and Rámáyan.

XII

On the Indian Theatre, &c. &c. &c.

XIII.

On the Indian Constellations, with their Mythology from the Purános.

XIV.

The History of India before the Mahomedan Conquest, from the Shanscrit-Cashmír-Histories.

ARABIA.

XV.

The History of Arabia before Muhammed.

XVI.

A Translation of the Hamása.

XVII.

A Translation of Harírì.

XVIII.

A Translation of the Fácahatûl Khulafà.

———————— of the Cásiah.

PERSIA.

XIX.

The History of Persia; from authorities in Shanscrit, Arabic, Greek, Turkish, Persian, ancient and modern.

Firdausi's-Khosrau Náma.

XX.

The Five Poems of Nizámi, translated in Prose.

A Dictionary of pure Persian. Jehangire.

CHINA.

XXI.

A Translation of the Shí-cing.

XXII.

The Text of Can-fu-tsu, verbally translated.

TARTARY.

XXIII.

A History of the Tartar Nations, chiefly of the Moguls and Othmáns, from the Turkish and Persian.

We are not authorised to conclude that he had himself formed a determination to complete the works which his genius and knowledge had thus sketched: the task seems to require a period beyond the probable duration of any human life: but we, who had the happiness to know Sir William Jones—who were witnesses of his indefatigable perseverance in the pursuit of knowledge, and of his ardour to accomplish whatever he deemed important—who saw the extent of his intellectual powers, his wonderful attainments in Literature and Science, and the facility with which all his compositions were made—cannot doubt, if it had pleased Providence to protract the date of his existence, that he would have ably executed much of what he had so extensively planned.

I have hitherto principally confined my Discourse to the pursuits of our late President in Oriental Literature, which, from their extent, might appear to have occupied all his time: but they neither precluded his attention to Professional studies, nor to Science in general. Amongst his publications in Europe in Polite Literature, exclusive of various compositions in prose and verse, I find a Translation of the Speeches of Isæus, with a learned Comment; and in Law, an Essay on the Law of Bailments. Upon the subject of this last work I cannot deny myself the gratification of quoting the sentiments of a celebrated Historian:—
" Sir William Jones has given an ingenious and rational
" Essay on the Law of Bailments. He is perhaps the only
" Lawyer equally conversant with the Year-books of
" Westminster, the Commentaries of Ulpian, the Attic
" Pleadings of Isæus, and the Sentences of Arabian and
" Persian Cadhis."

His Professional studies did not commence before his twenty-second year; and I have his own authority for asserting, that the first book of English Jurisprudence which he ever studied was Fortescue's Essay in praise of the Laws of England.

Of the ability and conscientious integrity with which he discharged the functions of a Magistrate, and the duties of a Judge of the Supreme Court of Judicature, in this Settlement, the public voice and public regret bear ample and merited testimony. The same penetration which marked his scientific researches distinguished his Legal investigations and decisions; and he deemed no inquiries burdensome which had for their object substantial justice under the rules of Law.

His Addresses to the Jurors are no less distinguished for philanthropy and liberality of sentiment, than for just expositions of the Law, perspicuity, and elegance of diction; and his oratory was as captivating as his arguments were convincing.

In an epilogue to his Commentaries on Asiatic Poetry, he bids farewell to Polite Literature, without relinquishing his affection for it; and concludes with an intimation of his intention to study Law, expressed in a wish, which we now know to have been prophetic:

> Mihi sit, oro, non inutilis toga,
> Nec indiserta lingua, nec turpis manus!

I have already enumerated attainments and works which, from their diversity and extent, seem far beyond the capacity of the most enlarged minds; but the catalogue may yet be augmented. To a proficiency in the Languages of Greece, Rome, and Asia, he added the knowledge of the Philosophy of those countries, and of every thing curious and valuable that had been taught in them. The doctrines of the Academy, the Lycæum, or the Portico, were not more familiar to him than the tenets of the Védas, the mysticism of the Sufis, or the religion of the Ancient Persians; and whilst, with a kindred genius, he perused with rapture the Heroic, Lyric, or Moral compositions of the most-renowned Poets of Greece, Rome, and Asia, he could turn with equal delight and knowledge to the sublime speculations or mathematical calculations of Barrow and Newton. With them, also, he professed his conviction of the truth of the Christian Religion; and he justly deemed it no inconsiderable advantage that his Researches had corroborated the multiplied Evidence of Revelation, by confirming the Mosaic account of the Primitive World. We all recollect, and can refer to the following sentiments in his Eighth Anniversary Discourse:—

"Theological inquiries are no part of my present subject; but I cannot refrain from adding, that the collection of Tracts, which we call, from their excellence, the Scriptures, contain, independently of a divine origin, more true sublimity, more exquisite beauty, purer morality, more important history, and finer strains both of poetry and eloquence, than could be collected within the same compass from all other books that were ever composed in any age or in any idiom. The two Parts, of which the Scriptures consist, are connected by a chain of compositions, which bear no resemblance in form or style to any that can be produced from the stores of Grecian, Indian, Persian, or even Arabian Learning: the antiquity of those compositions no man doubts; and the unstrained application of them, to events long subsequent to their publication, is a solid ground

" of belief that they were genuine predictions, and con-
" sequently inspired."

There were, in truth, few sciences in which he had not acquired considerable proficiency: in most, his knowledge was profound. The theory of Music was familiar to him; nor had he neglected to make himself acquainted with the interesting discoveries lately made in Chymistry: and I have heard him assert, that his admiration of the structure of the human frame had induced him to attend for a season to a course of Anatomical Lectures, delivered by his friend the celebrated Hunter.

His last and favourite pursuit was the study of Botany, which he originally began under the confinement of a severe and lingering disorder, which, with most minds, would have proved a disqualification from any application. It constituted the principal amusement of his leisure hours. In the arrangements of Linnæus, he discovered system, truth, and science, which never failed to captivate and engage his attention; and from the proofs which he has exhibited of his progress in Botany, we may conclude that he would have extended the discoveries in that science. The last composition which he read in this Society was a Description of Select Indian Plants: and I hope his Executors will allow us to fulfil his intention of publishing it—a Number in our Researches.

It cannot be deemed useless or superfluous to inquire by what arts or method he was enabled to attain to a degree of knowledge, almost universal, and apparently beyond the powers of man, during a life little exceeding forty-seven years.

The faculties of his mind, by nature vigorous, were improved by constant exercise; and his memory, by habitual practice, had acquired a capacity of retaining whatever had once been impressed upon it. To an unextinguished ardour for Universal Knowledge he joined a perseverance, in the pursuit of it, which subdued all obstacles. His studies began with the dawn, and, during the intermissions of Professional duties, were continued throughout the day. Reflection and meditation strengthened and confirmed what industry and investigation had accumulated. It was a fixed principle with him, from which he never voluntarily deviated, not to be deterred, by any difficulties that were surmountable, from prosecuting to a successful termination what he had once deliberately undertaken.

But what appears to me more particularly to have enabled him to employ his talents so much to his own and the public advantage, was the regular allotment of his time to particular occupations, and a scrupulous adherence to the distribution which he had fixed: hence, all his studies were pursued without interruption or confusion. Nor can I here omit remarking—what may probably have attracted your observation as well as mine—the candour and complacency with which he gave his attention to all persons, of whatever quality, talents, or education. He justly concluded, that curious or important information might be gained even from the illiterate; and wherever it was to be obtained, he sought and seized it.

Of the private and social virtues of our lamented President our hearts are the best records: to you who knew him, it cannot be necessary for me to expatiate on the independence of his integrity, his humanity, probity, or benevolence, which every living creature participated; on the affability of his conversation and manners, or his modest unassuming deportment: nor need I remark, that he was totally free from pedantry as well as from arrogance and self-sufficiency, which sometimes accompany and disgrace the greatest abilities: his presence was the delight of every society, which his conversation exhilarated and improved; and the public have not only to lament the loss of his talents and abilities, but that of his example.

To him, as the Founder of our Institution—and, whilst he lived, its firmest support—our reverence is more particularly due: instructed, animated, and encouraged by him, genius was called forth into exertion, and modest merit was excited to distinguish itself. Anxious for the reputation of the Society, he was indefatigable in his own endeavours to promote it, whilst he cheerfully assisted those of others. In losing him, we have not only been deprived of our brightest ornament, but of a guide and patron, on whose instructions, judgment, and candour we could implicitly rely.

But it will, I trust, be long, very long, before the remembrance of his virtues, his genius, and abilities, lose that influence over the Members of this Society which his living example had maintained: and if, previous to his demise, he had been asked by what posthumous honours or attentions we could best shew our respect for his memory, I may venture to assert he would have replied, "By exerting yourselves to support the credit of the Society";—applying to it, perhaps, the dying wish of Father Paul, "Esto perpetua!"

APPENDIX IV. Vol. I.

MEMORANDUM ON THE EXPEDITION AGAINST THE SPANISH ISLANDS, BY THE HON. COLONEL WESLEY.

I UNDERSTAND that the force which is to be sent from Bengal for the Expedition to Manilla is to consist of 1400 infantry, some artillery and military stores, with the "Heroine" frigate, and five armed Indiamen. I propose, as soon as that can be got ready, it should be sent immediately to attack Batavia and the Dutch Settlements upon the Island of Java; at all events, destroy the first entirely; and either make an establishment at the latter, or otherwise, as the Government may think fit. If they should choose to have an establishment, I have a plan for providing a force for the protection of it; which I will communicate, if I think necessary. In case the general proposition is admitted, that it would be a desirable object either to destroy or get possession of the Dutch Possessions in the Island of Java, of which there can be but little doubt, I proceed to detail the information which I have collected upon the state of the Dutch force there: which however, I must observe, is not so complete as it ought to be; as, in order to avoid giving suspicion that such a plan is in agitation, I have been obliged to be cautious in seeking it. The Dutch have, in the whole island, about 2000 men, some of which are Natives; but few of these are at Batavia, on account of the unwholesomeness of the situation. Some of them are at Sheribon, and some at Shamarang, and some are with the Sultan of Java; so that, upon the whole, I conclude that a force of 600 men could not be collected in any one place under ten days, which would be more than sufficient for the operation against Batavia, as I shall proceed to shew.

Sheribon and Shamarang are the places where the Dutch keep their stores and merchandise, and are not fortified. The town of Batavia is surrounded by a slight brick wall, which has no defence. It has on the eastern side of it a citadel, which stands close to the bay, but which, however, is not within shot of the artillery-ground. There are no guns mounted on the land side of the citadel. In the rear of the town, at some distance, are two redoubts; in which, however, as I am informed, there are no guns. But even if the place was strong and in good order, as the Dutch have but few good troops nearer than Sheribon, which is at the distance of forty miles at least, they could not stand against the attack which would be made upon them by surprise. I look upon the Expedition to Manilla to be the principal object; and therefore I should propose, that as soon as Batavia shall be destroyed, the fleet should proceed to Tanjoran, upon the eastern side of the Malaya Peninsula, unless the Governor-General should wish to keep the place; in which case I have a plan, as I before stated, for providing a force for the protection of it, without diminishing that which is intended to join the forces from Madras for the attack of Manilla. In my opinion, Tanjoran ought to be the place of rendezvous, even in case the expedition to Batavia is not adopted. I suppose the attack upon Manilla will not be made till the month of October; because if it is, the wind blows right into the bay; and, as was the case when Sir William Draper made his attack, the shipping will not be able to ride there in safety. After the change of the monsoon in October, they will be protected by the land. I should propose that the fleet should remain at Tanjoran till the 1st of October: they may then sail right before the wind to Manilla Bay, and will arrive there by the time the south-west monsoon breaks up. The troops will have been refreshed at Tanjoran, and will all be in health: whereas if the rendezvous be at Penang, the fleets will have a long and an intricate and uncertain navigation between their port of refreshment and their destination: it cannot be expected that the troops will be as healthy, and the time of the arrival at Manilla cannot be so exactly fixed, as it would be if the rendezvous is at Tanjoran. I conclude, therefore, that the rendezvous ought to be at Tanjoran, even if Batavia is not to be attacked. There will be no disadvantage nor inconvenience in keeping the fleets separate for such a length of time, for the attack of that place.

I do not conceive that any danger is to be apprehended from the six French frigates which are said to be cruizing in the China Seas. I conceive the frigates and armed Indiamen to be more than equal to them; and besides them, the three ships going as transports carry guns.

Upon the whole then, seeing that the place is so weak and that it would fall so easily, and that a force sufficient to destroy it can be sent there without any inconvenience, danger, or much additional expense, I consider that it would be an expedition honourable to the Governor-General, and to those employed upon it; and useful to the country, as it would deprive the enemy of his only remaining port in the Eastern Seas, and of one of which he has lately made the greatest use;—and as such I offer my plans.

(Signed) A. W.

APPENDIX V. Vol. I.

MR. MILL'S STRICTURES ON THE REVOLUTION IN OUDE CONSIDERED.

Mr. Mill impugns Sir J. Shore's decision on the Oude Succession, notwithstanding the collective authorities in its favour. Whilst acknowledging the integrity of the Governor-General's motives, Mr. Mill attributes it to the bewilderment of his understanding, and to his readiness to annex weight to evidence of the spuriousness of the man whom he wished not to reign; whilst he states, that the transaction had one attractive feature—that of gain to the Company; insinuating, that it consequently received the most cordial approbation of the Powers, Ministerial and Directorial, at Home. The general conclusion, from Mr. Mill's account, is, that the Governor-General, biassed by his prepossessions, unjustly dethroned a lawful Sovereign; and that, under the influence of cupidity, the Authorities at home scrupled not to sanction the proceeding. How far the Historian of India may be considered, in this instance, a competent witness against the honour and justice of the Government, may be inferred from the following comparison of his statements with Sir J. Shore's Minutes and documents; the authenticity of which he acknowledges, by citation of their contents; and from which his information is exclusively derived.

Mr. Mill, in the commencement of his account, has committed an important error, by misstating the Mahomedan Law on the point at issue:—"It was no objection to the legitimacy of the Nabob, that he was not the son of the Begum, who had no child; that he was the son of a female menially employed in the zenana. He was acknowledged by Asoph-ud-Doulah as his son, and, *according to the law of the Moslems, that was enough.*" (VI. 45.) The important proviso of this law, on which the question hinged, is omitted by Mr. Mill:—"It is also made a condition, that the parentage of the boy be unknown; for if he be known to be the issue of some other than the acknowledged, it necessarily follows that the acknowledgment is null." (Governor-General's Minute, Oct. 1797.) This condition is insisted upon, as applying specifically to the case in question, in the Minute of January 1798.

It follows, that the Nabob's acknowledgment of Vizier Ali was invalidated by the Mahomedan Law, if other parentage could be proved. Now, the principal evidence, in support of this essential condition, was that of Tehzeen Ali Khan, a confidential eunuch of the late Nabob.

According to Mr. Mill, it was procured in the following manner:—"Upon this story," Tehzeen Ali's account, "told privately to the Governor-General by Tehzeen, who complained of having been treated with injustice by the Nabob, and who might have been suborned by his enemies—told without confrontation with the public, without confrontation with the Nabob, without cross-examination, without counter-evidence, without hearing any thing the party affected might have to adduce in his behalf, without pushing the inquiry by examination of other persons to whom the secrets of the zezana might be known, and corroborated only by what he was told was the public opinion—did the Governor-General declare, that a man whom he had acknowledged as Nabob of Oude, and who succeeded to the throne with the apparent concurrence of all ranks except the single voice of Saadut Ali, was not the son of the late Vizier, and ought to be displaced from the throne." (VI. 46.)

Let the Governor-General's statements be compared with this version of the transaction:—

"The particulars thus detailed were collected from inquiries put to Tehzeen at different intervals, and in a mode which I thought calculated to extract the truth. Ali underwent frequent examinations, both by the Resident and myself. The two Papers, Nos. I. and II. translated, were sworn to by Tehzeen Ali Khan, in my presence and that of the Persian Translator.

. . . .

"If the accounts were false, that falsehood must have been detected upon re-examination; for no common memory could have recapitulated a detail of this nature, without contradictions sufficient to impeach the veracity of the informant.

. . . .

"The credibility due to a witness is best estimated by his general character, by the mode in which he gives his evidence, and by cross-examinations. By all these tests, that of Tehzeen has every appearance of truth and accuracy. His character has never been impeached, and his attendance to his religion approaches to bigotry. With the Korân in his hand, he avouched the truth of the information delivered by him, as stated in the Paper No. II. and which was translated and read to him; and generally, the truth of all that he had said upon the subject of the late Nabob's children, in all the inquiries made of him by myself and the Resident, he appeared to possess the clearest recollections and accuracy, and his behaviour impressed me with the fullest conviction of the truth of his evidence.

. . . .

"We have evidence now before us, that the Nabob has acknowledged and educated children as his own which were not begotten by him. We have information which destroys the weight of the law of acknowledgment in favour of Vizier Ali. We have evidence as to the birth of Vizier Ali, which leaves not a doubt that it is spurious—of information converting my suspicions into proof that the acquiescence of the Begum was dictated by the hopes of preserving her controul, and her aversion to the sons of Sujah-ud-Dowlah. We have the declarations of the younger Begum that the succession was settled without investigation or consideration—her decided declaration that Vizier Ali and all his brethren are spurious, and that the justice of the title to the *musnud* rests with the sons of Sujah-ud-Dowlah. We have evidence that the elevation of Vizier Ali was considered by all persons of respectability as a violation of justice." (Minute, Jan. 18, 1798.)

Mr. Mill alleges that the younger Begum, wife of the late Nabob, had acknowledged Vizier Ali. Besides the Governor-General's already-quoted statements on the subject, he adds, that "when the late Nabob wished to introduce Vizier Ali to her on the occasion of his late nuptials, she refused to disgrace the dignity of her family by admitting Vizier Ali into her presence." Among the

Papers on the Oude Revolution, is the translation of a Letter from the Younger Begum to Tufuzzool Hossein Khan, expressive of her sentiments on the subject:—

"Since the time that you set out to meet the Governor-General, some extraordinary circumstances have befallen me. Some degree of verbal kindness and encouragement I used to receive; but now-a-days no one inquires about me. Moreover, you will have learnt, from the Newspapers, the improper conduct towards me, that a good-for-nothing boy, through obstinacy and perverseness, and from the society of short-sighted fools, has been guilty of. Since the day grief fell upon me, and the world was darkened to my eyes (alluding to the late Nabob's death), I have devoured my grief in silence, in the hope that you would obtain from my kind friend, the Governor-General, leave for me to visit the Holy Shrines, and thereby free me from a variety of affliction. An inexperienced ignorant boy has done that which gives new poignancy to my griefs. I submit it to your discernment, and sense of what is just, whether any law, divine or human, renders proper my continuance here, where such a boy is at the head of the Government. The Gentlemen perhaps have not been informed of all the indecorum he has been guilty of towards me. You will doubtless have informed the Governor-General specifically of his (Vizier Ali's) conduct towards the Nabob Meer Imaun Addeen Khan (her brother) and his son. Let me entreat you to adopt effectual measures to enable me to quit this place of terror as early as possible;—that is my sole wish. From the very beginning I have met with ill-treatment (literally, 'In the very first cup, the lees appeared'). What have I to expect in future? Mr. Lumsden and you both told me that my honour and yours were one and the same. In the course of these two months past every thing has gone out: what hope have I, then, for the future? You have seen the conduct that he (Vizier Ali) has observed towards Tehzeen Ali Khan, who fostered him all his life in the bosom of affection.

"My friend, you placed him (Vizier Ali) upon the *musnud* with too little inquiry and consideration; and now you see the consequence.—What necessity is there for my remaining in this country?

"I enclose a Letter from the Governor-General. You will deliver, and obtain an answer to it."

In reference "to the apparent consent of the inhabitants of Lucknow" having been one of the reasons for the original declaration in Vizier Ali's favour, Mr. Mill quotes the Governor-General's Minute. He was in justice bound to add the following explanatory passage from the same document:—

"Feeling in all its force the impression of the popular belief of the spurious birth of Vizier Ali, and aware of all the consequences to our political representation of justice which might result from the acknowledgment of him as successor to Asoph-ud-Doulah, I still was not authorised to make them the grounds of rejecting it, in opposition to the acknowledgment and declaration of his presumed father; whilst I felt an equal repugnance to fix obloquy on the reputation of the late Nabob, by an inquiry dictated by general rumours only. It is now no longer dubious, that the repugnance to the Vizier Ali's succession, after an interval of reflection, was general; that the acknowledgment of it by the Company excited surprise and disappointment; that it was esteemed both disgraceful and unjust; and that nothing but the support of the Begum* and the Company would have suppressed the expression of that repugnance that may now exist in a less degree; but the disgrace attached to our decision still remains."—(*Minute*, Jan. 18, 1798.)

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* The Elder Begum.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

ERRATA.

P. 442, line 14, *for* "estimation," *read* "estimate."

P. 455, line 4, "peerage"—Note omitted. "It had been Lord Teignmouth's determination to refuse a peerage, if offered to him on his return to England. Mr. Dundas, anticipating it, had resolved to take effectual measures to obviate the fulfilment of his intentions."

U.R.

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